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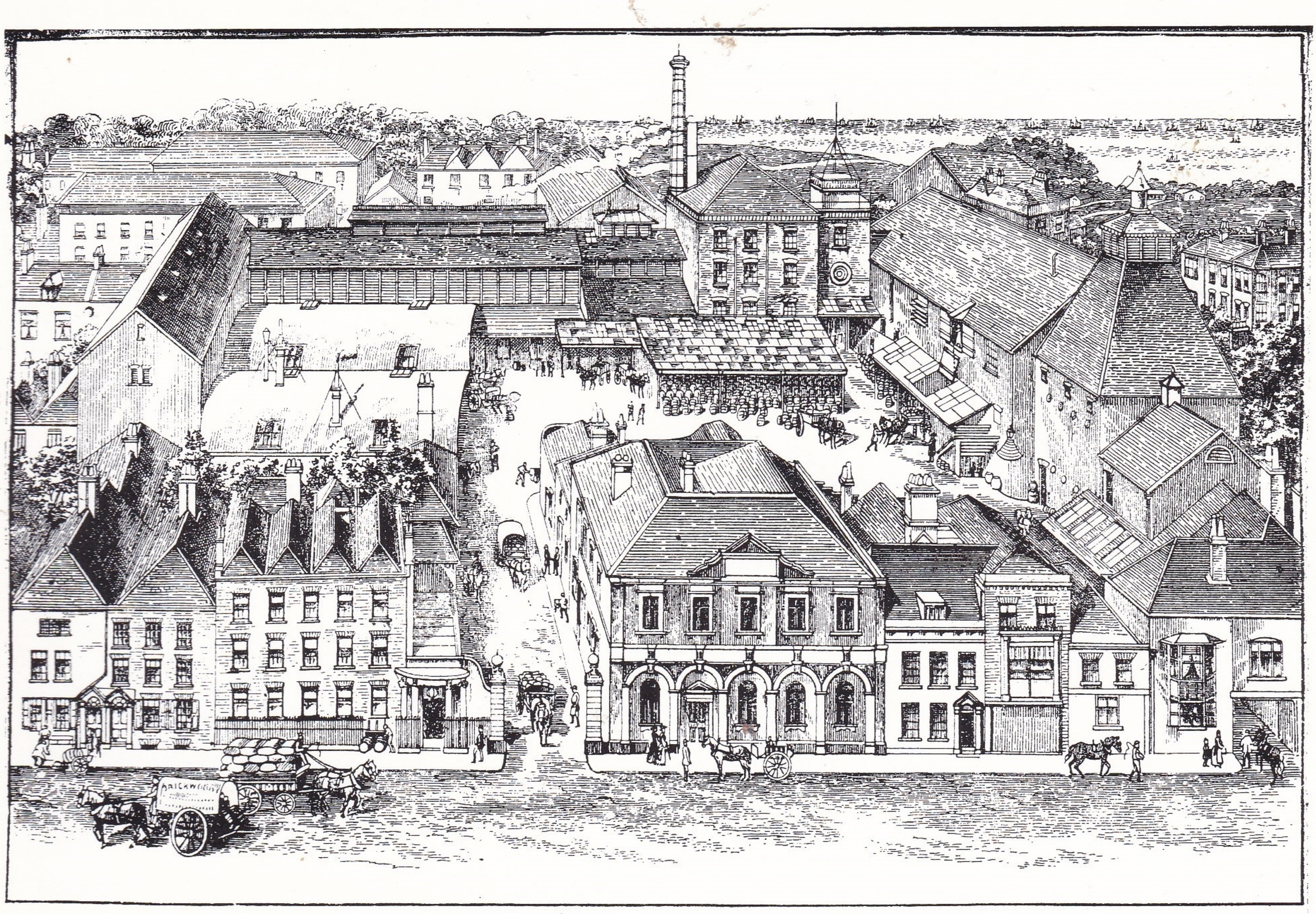

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The Portsmouth Brewery: Penny Street in the foreground.
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PORTSMOUTH BREWERIES 1492–1847

Philip Eley

In the last decade of the fifteenth century, the town of Portsmouth, in the south-western corner of Portsea Island, was transformed into a naval port whose subsequent history has been inextricably linked to the Royal Navy. King Henry VII, realising the natural advantages of an easily defendable harbour protected by the Isle of Wight from strong winds, and within easy reach of an increasingly hostile France, decided to develop facilities for the maintenance of his ships and for the victualling of his fleet. In doing so Henry coincidentally laid the foundations on which Portsmouth's brewing industry flourished. Over the ensuing years the industry has been influenced not only by the presence of naval (and later military) personnel in the town but also by legislation, taxation, improvements in communications and changes in brewing techniques and equipment. The history of brewing in Portsmouth is largely that of any other growing town, but the presence of the Royal Navy and garrison caused the size of the industry to be somewhat larger than normal. This paper looks at that history from Tudor times to the arrival of the railway in 1847, but the coverage is somewhat uneven, a reflection of the availability of source material. The advent of the railway provides a convenient end-point as it was the cause of greatly increased competition from 'foreign' brewers which helped cause a great change in emphasis within the local brewing industry.

Background

In the 1490s there were two distinct beverages brewed from malted barley—ale and beer. Ale was brewed in a relatively simple process using only malt, water and yeast and it had been the main alcoholic drink of the English for many centuries. It was a thick, sweet drink[1] usually served with the addition of herbs or spices, not only to add flavour but as an attempt to improve on its poor keeping qualities, an attempt which always proved ineffective.[2] Beer was (and still is) brewed from the same materials as ale but was boiled with hops prior to fermentation, giving the drink a bitter flavour and endowing an important preservative quality.[3] A writer[4] advocating the use of hops in 1576, states 'if your ale may endure a fortnight, your Beere through the benefite of the Hoppe shall continue a moneth . . .'. Hops, which grow wild in northern Europe and are related to hemp and nettle, were not cultivated in England until after the introduction of beer into London and Kent by Flemish and Dutch merchants early in the fifteenth century.[5] The brewers of these times had no understanding of the mechanics of the reactions involved in the brewing process, and the art or 'mystery' of brewing was something to be discovered only by trial and error and passed on by word of mouth.

Fifteenth century brewing was essentially a domestic occupation carried out by the ale- and beer-house keepers (or their wives, the brewsters) on their own premises.[6] It was not uncommon, especially in rural areas, for householders to brew for themselves, but the trend in urban areas was towards the brewer-retailer becoming the supplier of all a family's alcoholic beverages. Ale, with its simple brewing process, short maturation period and short 'shelf-life' was suited to the brewing-victualler with his small scale of operation: larger scale brewing of ale was only viable where prolonged storage was not required, such as in the colleges and monasteries and in the larger urban areas, notably London.[7] On the other hand, beer, with its relatively more complex process, longer maturation[8] and particularly its longer life, was more suitable to mass-production. It was also cheaper to make: 'whereas you cannot make above 8 or 9 gallons of indifferent ale of one bushell of Mault, you may draw 18 or 20 gallons of very good Beere . . .'.[9]

The existence of the Assize of Bread and Ale,[10] a statute of 1266, emphasised the importance of these two commodities in the diet of the people. The statute set a maximum retail price for ale (beer was included later) dependent on the local price of barley. The Mayor of Portsmouth, in his capacity as Clerk of the Market, periodically announced the prices, specifying two different strengths,[11] and all brewers were required to inform the ale-taster, by hanging out an 'ale-stake',[12] before any brew could be sold. This important official,[13] who was appointed by the Mayor and his assistants,[14] had only his sense of taste to help him protect the consumers from the brewers who might attempt to pass weaker beer off at the prices allowed for strong. He was also responsible, under a statute of 1277,[15] for ensuring that ale was sold only in certified vessels containing a gallon, pottle (half-gallon) or quart bearing the official seal.[16] The Court Leet dealt with offenders against these statutes, and conviction usually resulted in a fine. The Assize remained in force until the end of the seventeenth century.[17]

The ingredients of ale and beer were all readily available to the brewers of Portsmouth. Water, the most important resource not only for brewing purposes but also for cleaning vessels, and thus the one which most influenced the siting of a brewery until the advent of piped water supplies, was in abundance from natural springs[18] and wells. Growing urbanisation combined with primitive sewage disposal methods resulted in a lack of drinkable water which was to the advantage of the brewers whose product was safe to drink – the brewing process sterilises water by boiling and alcohol is a mild antiseptic – and weak ale or beer had become the staple liquid intake of most of the

population (particularly the poorer section), remaining so until Victorian times. Barley was an important rotation crop in the agricultural villages on Portsea Island,[19] and it is likely that the brewers were the main buyers of the harvested grain which they would malt for themselves. Yeast, which reproduces itself by about five times during the brewing process, would be freely available from brewers to anyone wanting to bake bread and, by extension, to anyone wishing to start brewing. Hops would not have been difficult to obtain: as a port, Portsmouth would have been able to import them from the continent or from the main hop growing area of Kent, but it would have been quickly realised that climatic conditions on the island were such that hops would grow locally.

The Navy Brewhouses 1492 to 1525

The use of hops in brewing gradually spread from London during the fifteenth century, but when beer was first brewed in Portsmouth is unknown. However, it was being produced in 1492 in what was probably the first large-scale brewery in the town. Until then, as in any other small community, brewing would have been the province of the brewing-victuallers and this would have continued alongside the new brewery in order to supply the local people. Situated in the High Street on ground specially bought for the purpose, the brewery was built by order of King Henry VII at a cost of £144 15s. 2½d.[20] It was called the *Greyhound* after the badge of the King. The purpose of the brewery was to provide beer for Henry's fleet, and the longer life of beer was an essential quality in its choice over ale. The small number of people living in the town would not have justified the erection of a brewery of this size and this development marks a major deviation of Portsmouth's brewing industry from that of comparable sized towns where the victuallers would have been the only brewers.

In 1512 war broke out with France, and Henry VIII enlarged the brewing facilities in Portsmouth to help cope with the greater demand. Between April 1512 and April 1513 £2,641 was spent on building and equipping a 'beerhouse' and bakery at Portsmouth,[21] and a further £339 was paid in June 1515 for 'kettles, pans and other necessities for the King's Beerhouses'.[22] The beerhouse (ie. brewery) and bakery was probably the *Anker* on the corner of St. Thomas and St. Mary Streets, but the large sum of money involved suggests that the 'four houses' known as the *Rose*, the *Lyon*, the *Dragon* and the *White Hart* were also included. These were situated at Four House Green to the south-east of St Nicholas Street adjacent to Southsea Common and formed part of the site later occupied by Clarence Barracks. Springs in this area were the chief source of water for the inhabitants,[23] and the availability of this water undoubtedly influenced the siting of these breweries. The inventory[24] for these brewhouses suggests that they were modelled on the monastic breweries. It is possible that former monastic brewers were employed in the Naval breweries after Henry dissolved the monasteries.[25]

The brewhouses were at work by June 1513, producing over 500 barrels a day and were the 'goodliest' that Lord Howard had ever seen,[26] but an attempt to brew with malted oats met with customer resistance: the army refused to drink the beer and it did not keep well.[27] A large staff was employed including the master brewers, millers, coopers, mill-makers, surveyors, horse-keepers, smiths and clerks,[28] while horses were employed for pulling the drays and in horse-mills for grinding the malt. The provision of storage for the output of the breweries had not kept up with the level of production and the hot summer of 1513 threatened to ruin the first brews. William Pawne, who had built the brewhouses, was instructed by the King to keep the beer in trenches covered with boards, sedge and turf,[29] whilst later in the year Henry ordered ten beerhouses to be built in Portsmouth,[30] a beerhouse in this context being a storehouse for beer. These may have materialised as the 150 by 40 foot King's Storehouse in King Street (now King Charles Street), was built about this time.[31] In 1522 the Earl of Sussex, writing to Henry VIII from the *Mary Rose*, complained that there were not enough casks available and that the brewers were refusing to brew as their wages had not been paid.[32] In the following year Henry granted the *Greyhound* brewhouse, granary and dwelling-house to the Captain of the Garrison, Richard Palshyd,[33] with the proviso that the King would appoint a brewer in times of war.[34] It seems likely that Palshyd used the house as a beerhouse and conceivably became the first wholesale brewer in the town: the output of the brewery would have easily satisfied the needs of the small number of peace-time inhabitants of the town.

Small-scale Brewers: The Sixteenth Century

During the sixteenth century Portsmouth very gradually grew in size,[35] with incursions of military personnel temporarily adding to the drinking population during wartime. Work had begun in 1539 on building Southsea Castle, one of Henry VIII's chain of castles defending the south coast, and this added a military thirst to that of the navy. The alcoholic needs of the sailors and soldiers passing through the town provided the local townsfolk with a good economic reason to take up brewing particularly during periods of hostilities. The same circumstances also attracted 'outside' traders to the town, provoking protective measures: a bye-law was introduced in 1537 which required all traders (including the brewers) to obtain a special licence from the

Mayor.[36] This was undoubtedly designed to stop outsiders from exploiting the buoyant trade during wartime.

The Mayor, presiding over the Court Leet, occasionally had cause to remind the brewers of their responsibilities. Thus in 1569 we find that 'there be divers victuallers within the town that . . . breweth contrary to all good orders':[37] the Court ruling that 'no manner of brewer within this towne . . . to sell any bere but hit be good and holesome drinke and that hit be sold . . . at such Resonabell pryses as they do sell in other plases'. At this time, the wholesale price was set at 1d. per 'thurendell'[38] (approximately three pints) and retail at 1d. per quart, giving the retailer a potential profit of 4 shillings on a barrel of 36 gallons,[39] a not inconsiderable sum, and a good incentive for brewing when the demand was high. The profit could be increased by watering or otherwise adulterating the beer or by using false measures. Judging from the number of presentments to the Court Leet for owning false measures, the practice was widespread, but the lack of convictions for adulteration is probably more a consequence of the offence being less detectable rather than of it not taking place.

The records of the Court Leet,[40] although rather fragmented, provide an indication of the numerical strength of brewers in the town and also their other occupations. These records cover the second half of the century and mention 32 brewers, a surprisingly large number given that in 1565, the town consisted of no more than 65 households.[41] Of the 32 brewers, exactly one half were listed specifically as ale-brewers, the rest just as brewers, presumably of beer. Two-thirds of them were also listed as beer-sellers, an indication of the limited scale of their operations, but there were also eight brewers listed who were not involved in any other trade. Three of these were unlicensed, leaving five who must have been common or wholesale brewers, probably on a slightly larger scale, who supplied the many beer-sellers listed who were not brewers. Amongst the other trades practised simultaneously by the retailer–brewers were those of baker (2), miller (2) and cooper, whilst less predictably there was a tailor, a weaver, two cordwainers, a carpenter and a shipwright. Brewing was obviously seen by these traders as a lucrative second occupation which could be exploited when the mass influxes of sailors and dockyard workers allowed.

The small agricultural villages dotted across Portsea Island would also have had their own retail-brewers: an ale-taster was appointed at Kingston in 1531,[42] perhaps indicating that brewers were numerous in that area, although the Leet records mention only one brewer/beer-seller specifically in Kingston. Coincidentally he was Richard Fittshall, the first of many brewers who took an interest in local political life: he was made a Burgess of the Town in 1552.[43]

Legislation and Contract Brewers: The Seventeenth Century

The business life of the town was becoming more proscribed and the Mayor and Aldermen, whose power was confirmed in a Charter of 1627, created more local laws. The brewers, in common with other successful businessmen, were not slow to realise that their own interests might be protected, if not furthered, by becoming involved in local political life, culminating in mayoralty. An important example of the business-oriented legislation imposed by the Mayor and Aldermen was concerned with apprenticeships. These dated from 1563, locally interpreted in 1660[44] and 1690: 'noe persons . . . shall . . . excercise any trade, art, mystery, or occupation within the . . . Burrough unles such persons . . . have served Seaven years as an Apprentice to such trade within the said Burrough'.[45] This put effective control of every trade, including, of course, brewing, into the hands of the current practitioners who were free to choose their successors and prevent competition.

The seventeenth century was notable for the amount of national legislation affecting the brewer and also for the imposition of the first countrywide tax on beer – the Excise. In 1620, James I threatened to prohibit victuallers, that is suppliers, from brewing for themselves, forcing them to obtain their supplies from common brewers.[46] To avoid this threat, it was agreed to submit to a tax on malt equivalent to 1d. per barrel and this lasted until 1624 when Parliament declared all Royal patents void.[47] The proposal resurfaced in 1637 when Charles I, in a black letter proclamation, forbade brewing by anyone except common brewers, who in turn were not allowed to practise any other trade themselves.[48] A licence was required from the Crown and the governing body of each town had the right to set up a municipal brewery if it wished. The brewers had sufficient representation in the local government of Portsmouth by this time to ensure that the town did not benefit from a municipal brewery, whose profits would have been directed towards local poor-relief. Parliament declared the proclamation void two years later, but it had not been very successful in raising money for the Crown, as brewers were unwilling to pay the licence fee even though non-compliance was punishable in the notorious Star Chamber. After the start of the civil war in 1642, it was the turn of Parliament to raise funds from beer and the Excise was created. Strong beer and ale were taxed at 1 shilling the barrel if brewed by a common brewer or at 2 shillings the barrel if brewed by a victualler. Weak or small beer was taxed at 6 pence the barrel regardless of who brewed it.[49] In 1645 a further tax on hops at 5 per cent of their value was imposed, whilst King Charles, in exile in Oxford, issued a warrant imposing similar charges.[50] The brewers

Extract from the Court Leet Presentment Book listing ale and beer brewers, 17 Oct. 1644.
Portsmouth City Records Office.

were assured that the tax was necessitated by the expense of war but it had come to stay. In 1653 the tax was removed from private brewings,[51] mainly owing to the difficulty in collecting it, but the collection system for other brewers was strengthened in 1657 when the Excise Act gave the Collectors power to enter and search premises. Brewing on Sundays was prohibited at the same time.[52]

At the Restoration the brewers expected the Excise to cease, but two Acts[53] were swiftly passed which granted to Charles II 1s. 3d. on each barrel of strong beer and 3d. on each barrel of small beer. (The Monarch still receives this levy, although it has been consolidated into a fixed sum as part of the Civil List).[54] A further requirement of the Act was that victuallers had to pay a surety if they wished to brew for themselves otherwise they had to buy from a common brewer.[55] The government, having discovered the ease with which revenue could be collected from beer, regularly increased the Excise duty so that by the end of the century the tax amounted to 4s. 9d. on a barrel of strong beer and 1s. 3d. on a barrel of small beer, with an additional tax on malt of 6d. a bushel.[56]

Christie[57] has noticed a correlation between the prosperity of the town (particularly in times of war) and the number of ale and beer sellers. The seventeenth century had a large number of wars—civil, French, Dutch and Spanish—each helping to boost Portsmouth's economy. By extension, if the victuallers flourished, then so did the brewers. Apart from the numbers of transient sailors and soldiers, who made up a large part of the brewers' local market, the peacetime population of the town was steadily increasing and a new settlement, outside the Dockyard at Portsmouth Common, was rapidly growing, providing the brewers with a solid demand. The brewers would also have welcomed the trade created by the establishment of the Colewort Barracks in 1694, which provided a permanent Army presence.

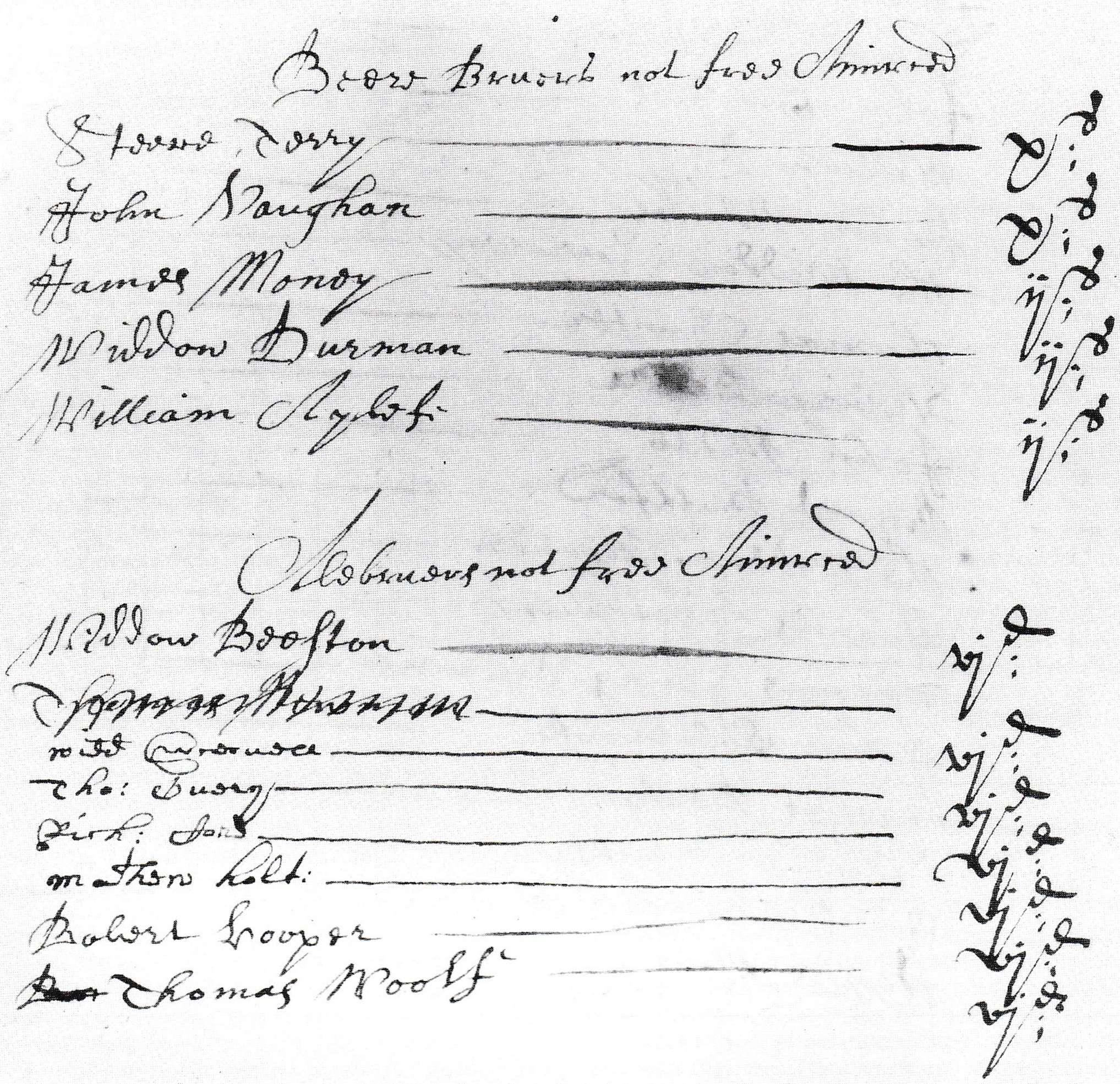
Although the legislation attempted to concentrate the brewing industry into the hands of relatively few common brewers in order to make Excise collection easier,[58] the size of any particular brewery was generally limited by the number of customers within easy reach of the horse-drawn dray. Thus the largest urban areas, such as London, could support numerous large brewers, whilst the country towns such as Dorchester and Salisbury (where municipal breweries had been set up)[59] were easily satisfied by one common brewery. In seventeenth century Portsmouth, the scale of common brewing was again far in excess of that demanded purely by the resident population: for the second time, the Royal Navy was the *raison d'être* of a small group of influential brewers who made their fortunes by fulfilling naval contracts for beer.

The contracts had started because the naval brewhouses had fallen into private hands during the decline in interest in the Dockyard. The *Greyhound* had become an alehouse (reputedly renamed the *Spotted Dog*) in which the Duke of Buckingham was assassinated in 1628. The *Anker* had gone and the King's Brewhouses at Four House Green were in the hands of Henry Holt,[60] although they were subsequently incorporated into the Four House Barracks. With the revival of naval interest in the town in the 1620s, the Victualling Commissioners had a choice of two methods for supplying the fleet: either they could revive the old system by setting up their own brewhouses or they could buy locally. In what proved to be a rare relaxation of the self-sufficiency of the Dockyard, they chose the latter option and secured a direct market for the brewers for more than a century.[61]

It is likely that Henry Holt at the Four Houses was amongst the first of the contractors[62] as he had the only large-scale breweries in the town. The fact that he also attained the Mayoralty for three terms (1622–23, 1627–28 and 1629–30)[63] suggests the level of wealth which would be needed for the contracting venture. By the same reasoning another brewer, William Haberley, shown on a 1627 map at Coldharbour,[64] outside the walled town, who was also three-times Mayor (in 1615–16, 1626–27 and 1630–31), may have also been involved. More certainty attaches to the third seventeenth-century brewing Mayor, Richard Ridge (Mayor in 1684–85) whose fortune, and that of his family, was undoubtably made through naval contracting.

Richard Ridge and his son Thomas were among the select few brewers in the Portsmouth area who had sufficient capital to satisfy the beer requirements of the Royal Navy. Richard had been brewing at the King's Storehouse in 1682,[65] the year he became an Alderman, had a cooperage in St Thomas's Street[66] (possibly on the site of the *Anker* brewhouse) and, by the time of his death in 1691, a malthouse at Coldharbour[67] (on or near the site that William Haberley previously occupied). In 1694 Thomas added a brewhouse[68] to the maltings at Coldharbour (in the vicinity of the present Guildhall Square), presumably having outgrown the restricted site within the Portsmouth town walls, and also owned hop gardens in Milton.[69] Thomas was in partnership with James Dixon who had a brewery at Puds-Hole[70] (the south-eastern end of Queen Street); the site was subsequently acquired by the Government (along with part of Ridge's estate in Fountain Field) for the Dockyard fortifications,[71] and is now occupied by the Royal Naval Wardroom. Other local brewers known to have been engaged in these contracts include Henry Player of Gosport, and Mrs Jean Shea (later John Pellatt & Co.) at Newgate[72] (in the area of the old Water Company offices in Hyde Park Road).[73]

The scale of the contracts and the tardiness of the Treas-



ury in paying for the beer limited the number of brewers able to compete in the market; few individuals would have been able to survive being owed £10,000, the sum outstanding to both Thomas Ridge and Henry Player in 1699.[74] This lack of payment meant a shortage of money with which to pay the duty on the beer supplied and the Excise authorities had to resort to the courts to obtain their taxes, while the brewers pleaded with the Treasury.[75] In February 1697/8 one of the Excise collectors complained that Thomas Ridge owed them £1,113 for several months' brewings and John Pellatt and Company owed £2,094.[76] In addition Pellatt and partner were accused of setting an 'Evill example' by mixing small and strong beer without giving the necessary notice. The large scale of these breweries is indicated by just one of the brewers, Mrs Shea, who supplied beer worth £8,900 in just nine months in 1694,[77] while the level of tax owed by Ridge and Pellatt represented approximately 10,000 and 17,000 barrels respectively.[78]

The contract brewers undoubtedly supplied beer to the townsfolk, but there was room for the small-scale brewer as well, and the Court Leet records[79] again give us some indication of the numbers involved. The information drawn from these records, which cover almost the whole of the century, is of the traders who were not burgesses of the town and who were required to pay a fine or amercement for the privilege of trading. It is reasonable to assume that these traders were on a small-scale, as any established trader would inevitably aspire to burgess-ship. The data thus exclude the naval contract brewers, who were all burgesses,[80] but one may assume that the total number of brewing burgesses never exceeded three or four in any given year. Although almost two-thirds (48) of the 75 brewers mentioned were ale-brewers they had all gone by 1653, whilst the last mention of ale-sellers in the Leet records was in 1667, marking the final triumph of hops and beer over ale.[81] In contrast to the previous century, only a quarter of the brewers retailed their own brews and of these, three-quarters opted to produce ale, which was less complicated to brew. It was only in the middle decades,

Court Leet Presentment of brewers selling to unlicensed retailers, 17 Oct. 1644.
Portsmouth City Records Office.

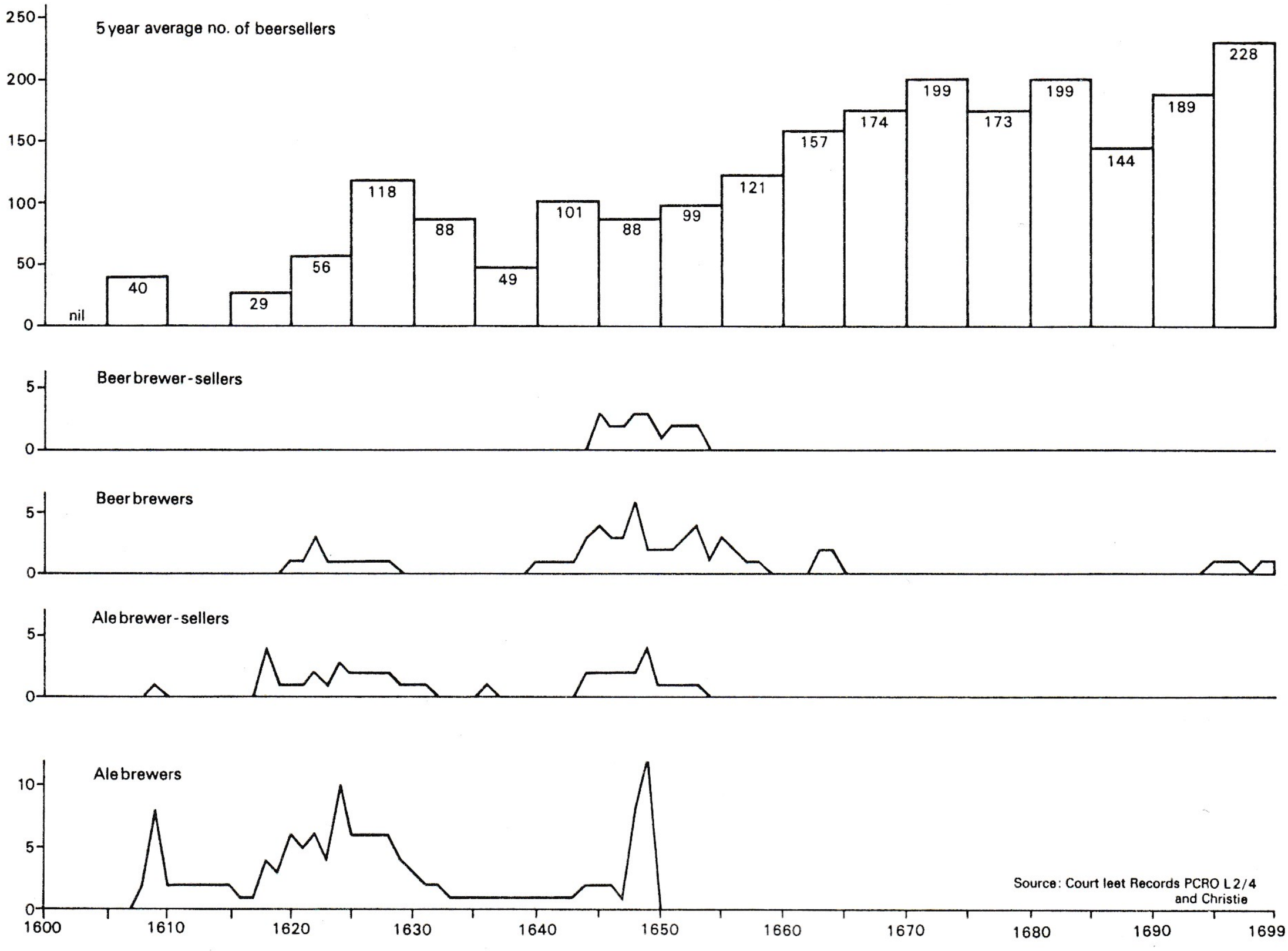
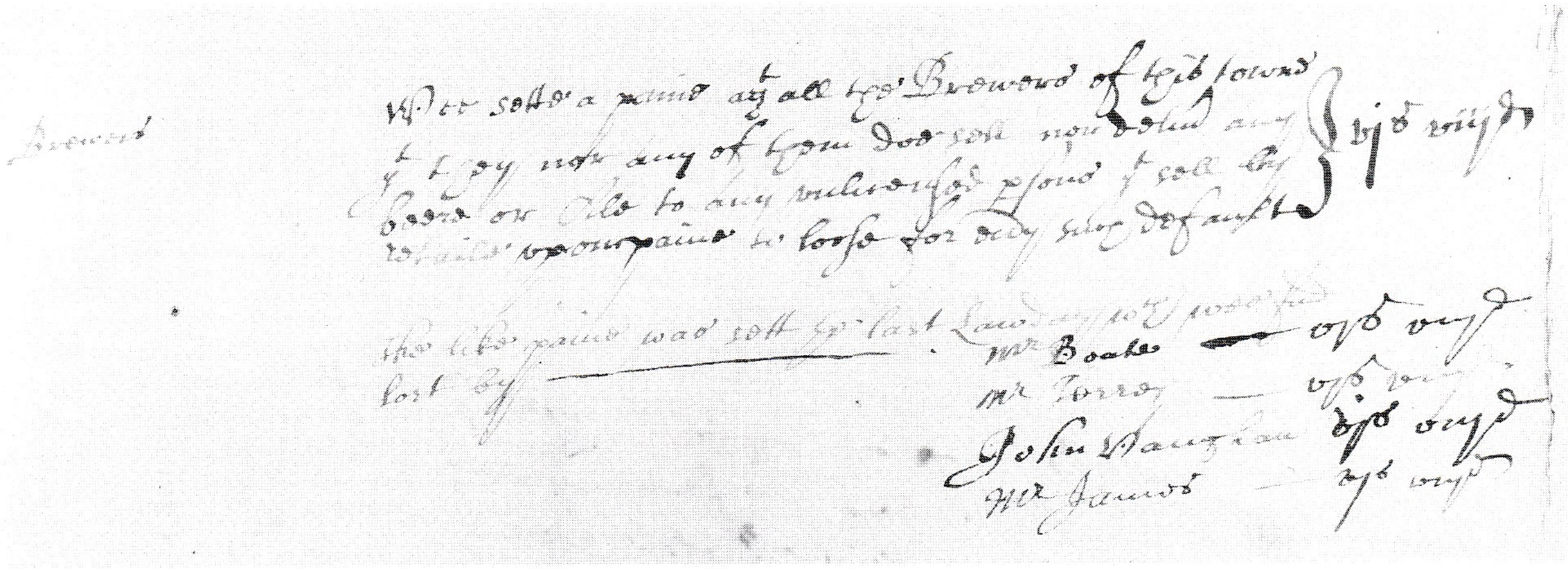


Fig. 1 Number of Ale and Beer Brewers and Sellers, 1600–1699. *Sources*: Court Leet Records P.C.R.O., L2/4 and Christie.

when growth of the trade in the town was booming during the second Civil and first Dutch Wars, that retail beer-brewers appear, albeit in insignificant numbers. Figure 1 indicates clearly that a small number of common-brewers supplied the large number of non-brewing retailers, but the relatively large number of brewing ale-sellers in the 1620s indicates a lack of interest in ale by the common brewers, predating its final demise. The effects of the Excise undoubtably encouraged the formation of large common breweries whilst the higher levels of taxation and the stringent rules under which brewing had to be conducted discouraged those potential brewers who were prepared to undertake the statutary apprenticeship. The apprenticeship requirement, together with the necessity of paying a surety for the privilege of brewing, effectively put an end to the brewing victuallers, leaving the local brewing industry securely in the hands of a few brewers.

The attentions of the Court Leet were regularly directed towards the activities of the brewers; the local bye-laws were zealously applied, even to the Mayor and Aldermen. For example, in 1629 both Henry Holt, Mayor in that year, and William Haberley were fined for selling beer at a price 'contrary to the statute'.[82] Haberley was also one of four brewers fined in 1644 for supplying beer to an unlicensed retailer,[83] which had been forbidden by an Act of 1606.[84] This last offence proved particularly prevalent be-



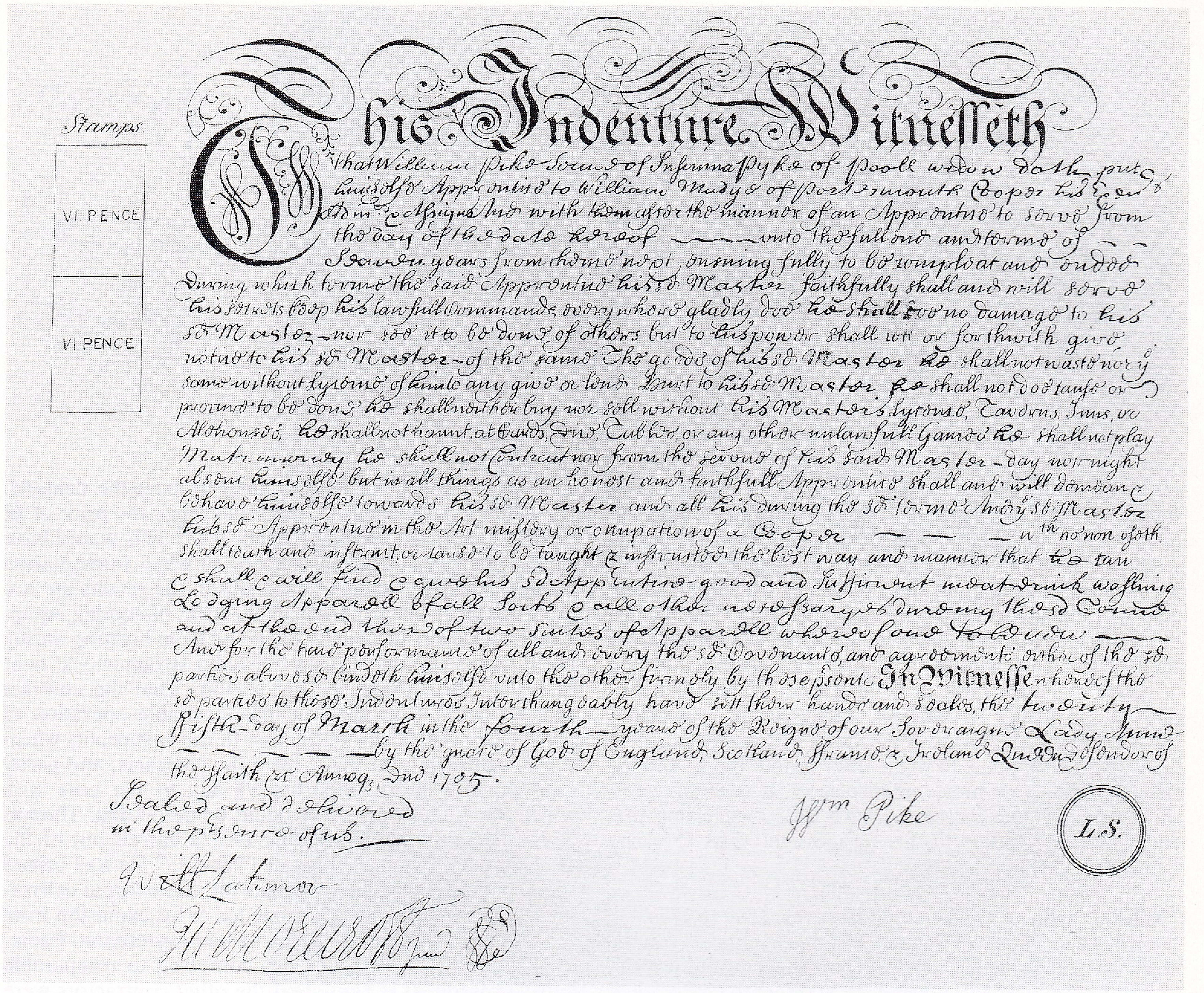
tween October 1644 and October 1649,[85] with a total of 19 presentments. Increasing the fine from 6s. 8d. to 13s. 4d. in October 1646 deterred the practice but it soon resumed when the penalty was lowered to its original level. The greatest offender among the brewers was Richard Ridge who was presented for six offences in April 1685[86] whilst he was Mayor and suffered a record seven presentments at the October 1690 sessions.[87] His offences included having 'a heape of hopps lying at Coldharbour',[88] having a furnace at the King's Brewhouse 'dangerous to passengers' (ie. passers-by),[89] having three dung heaps on the Town Common[90] and failing to put a fence round 'the ffountaine pond'.[91] The same presentments occur at successive sessions with the fine increasing each time, suggesting that Ridge was too busy with his business interests to worry about these trifling matters.

The Supremacy of the Common Brewers: 1700 to 1784

Whereas the previous century had been notable for the effect of legislation, the general spirit of scientific curiosity which pervaded Britain during the eighteenth century had an important influence on brewing. Two inventions were to help the brewers to an extraordinary degree—the thermometer and the saccharometer.[92] A difference of only a few degrees can make a considerable difference in the amount of fermentable material extracted during mashing, so the availability of an accurate measure of temperature was obviously of great importance to the brewer. Before the introduction of the thermometer the only method of gauging the temperature was literally by rule-of-thumb, probably causing quite a few scalded thumbs over the centuries![93] The saccharometer, a form of hydrometer, enabled the brewer for the first time to know the exact strength of his brews and gave him a lot more control over consistency of different batches brewed to the same recipe. The shrewd brewer could utilise these innovations to maximise his profit and he was helped by the publication of many books on brewing which passed on the findings of the scientists in a practical form.

Portsmouth's large-scale brewers continued to benefit from the contracts for the Navy during the first half of the century. Payments were still tardy both from the Victualling Department and to the Excise. James Dixon was summonsed in 1705 when he owed £348 5s. 11d. to the Excise,[94] but he was able to write a cheque for the amount before his court case was held. The contract brewers were, at times, forced to brew in summer to meet the demand, and their contracts required them to repay the price of all beer that went bad within six months.[95] This would have caused the brewers some concern as when fermentation takes place at too high a temperature, the results are unpredictable. In the absence of any form of cooling equipment, brewers traditionally refrained from brewing during the summer months, having brewed a strong 'stock' beer to supply throughout the hot season. That the contract brewers could have survived the inevitable operation of the penalty clause was partly due to the vast profits which could legitimately be made from the contracts, and partly (and possibly more importantly) due to the ease with which the Victualling Office could be defrauded. Thomas Ridge admitted supplying only 19,278 barrels out of the 33,078 he had been paid for in 1709–10.[96] He had bribed ships' pursers into signing receipts for non-existent deliveries and the discovery of his crime led to his expulsion from the House of Commons, where he had represented Poole, in February 1711.[97] Dixon also confessed to comparable levels of fraud. It is likely that the other contractors were similarly guilty, although Henry Player could not be persuaded to confess his involvement.[98] Notwithstanding these confessions, the contracts were still given to the same individuals: no one else had the capital or brewing capacity to fulfil the Navy's requirements.

Thomas Ridge died in 1730 and the business passed to his son, also named Thomas, who continued to enjoy the patronage of the Navy, and who was knighted by George II in 1747. This marked the peak of his brewing career: within the next 10 years the naval contracts had declined as the Victualling Office, doubtless dissatisfied by the scale of fraud, had bought the brewery at Weevil in Gosport, formerly owned by Henry Player, in 1753.[99] By 1761 the Weevil Brewery was producing enough beer to satisfy all the Navy's needs and Sir Thomas received no orders from the Navy that year.[100] He was described as brewer, distiller and wine merchant in 1764, the year that he was declared bankrupt,[101] and he died in the following year. His brother tried to sell the 'Great Brewhouse' at Coldharbour to the Victualling Office but they refused it as being surplus to their needs;[102] the Government did, however, buy Ridge's house which was used for many years as the Official Residence of the Commanding Officer, Artillery.[103] The whole area was bought by the Town Council in 1883 and the house was used for the first



Stamps.

VI. PENCE

VI. PENCE

This Indenture Witnesseth That William Pike Sonne of Susanna Pyke of Poole widow doth put himselfe Apprentice to William Mudge of Portsmouth Cooper his Exors Adm^rs & Assignes And with them after the manner of an Apprentice to serve from the day of the date hereof unto the full end and terme of Seaven years from thence next ensuing fully to be compleat and ended During which terme the said Apprentice his sd Master faithfully shall and will serve his secrets keep his lawfull Commands every where gladly doe he shall doe no damage to his sd Master nor see it to be done of others but to his power shall lett or forthwith give notice to his sd Master of the same The goods of his sd Master he shall not waste nor ye same without Lycence of him to any give or lend Hurt to his sd Master he shall not doe cause or procure to be done he shall neither buy nor sell without his Masters Lycence, Taverns, Inns, or Alehouses, he shall not haunt at Cards, Dice, Tables, or any other unlawfull Games he shall not play Matrimony he shall not Contract nor from the service of his said Master day nor night absent himselfe but in all things as an honest and faithfull Apprentice shall and will demean & behave himselfe towards his sd Master and all his during the sd terme And ye sd Master his sd Apprentice in the Art mistery or occupation of a Cooper — — — wch he now useth shall teach and instruct, or cause to be taught & instructed the best way and manner that he can & shall & will find & give his sd Apprentice good and sufficient meat drink washing Lodging Apparell of all sorts & all other necessaryes during the sd Terme and at the end thereof two Suites of Apparell whereof one to be new — And for the true performance of all and every the sd Covenants and agreements either of the sd parties above sd bindeth himselfe unto the other firmely by these presents In Witnesse whereof the sd parties to these Indentures Interchangeably have sett their hands and seales the twenty fifth day of March in the fourth yeare of the Reigne of our Sovereigne Lady Anne — — — by the grace of God of England, Scotland, France & Ireland Queene Defender of the Faith &c Annoq Dni 1705.

Sealed and delivered in the presence of us.

Will Latimer

Wm Pike

L.S.

free public library in the town[104] until 1886 when it was demolished to make way for the new Town Hall (the present Guildhall).

Whilst the Ridges were concentrating on the naval contracts, there were a few other brewers in both Portsmouth and Portsmouth Common. They thrived on the considerable demand generated by the steady growth of the town's population and the flow of soldiers and sailors with their considerable thirsts. Beer was still the primary liquid intake of the people so there was a healthy market to be served. Information regarding the numbers of brewers during this century is lacking but it seems likely that the trend of just a handful of common brewers, seen in the latter half of the previous century, continued. Most of the details of brewers in the early part of the century come from the records of the courts, which tend to give the impression that all the brewers were criminals: one presumes that was not the case. For example, George Everenden, a former maltster[105] and Mayor, was in trouble in October 1703 for not paying £65 duty owed to the Excise,[106] whilst in August 1704, William Mudge, common brewer and former cooper, also drew the wrath of the Excise Authorities by refusing to let the Gauger enter his storehouse.[107] The greater proportion of beer in Portsmouth was supplied by the common brewers, but this was in complete contrast to the country as a whole. Clark[108] estimates that, despite the efforts of the Excise, two-thirds of all ale-house keepers in the country brewed their own beer at the turn of the century, but notes that in the south, particularly in towns, the common brewer was supreme. There was still some brewing done by the publicans in Portsmouth, but the small-scale brewer was not really able to compete against the quality of the beer produced by the larger breweries and a certain amount of adulteration took place. Thus in June 1705 the Excise Authorities asked the courts to deal with the case of Ann Smallman, a brewing-victualler, who had been discovered brewing 'a certaine Liquor from Sugar, fforeigne Grains, Guinea Pepper or other unwholesome ingredients' and mixing it with her beer and ale.[109] In 1717, all the brewers were warned about 'suffering the filth and nastiness of their Brewhouses to lye unremoved for so long',[110] while in 1721, it was pointed out to a brewing-victualler 'at the sign of the *Red Lyon*', that the sparks from the low chimney attached to the property 'may be the occasion of the blowing up of the Magazeen' which was nearby![111]

It is not until 1784 that commercial directories become available, and these give us direct evidence of the number

William Pike's apprenticeship indenture, 1705.
Portsmouth Central Library.

David Spicer.
Portsmouth Central Library.

of brewers in the Borough: there were only five listed in that year. The three largest breweries (as indicated by their rateable values) were all in Penny Street in the old town. The largest, trading as William Pike and Co., was founded by William Pike behind 19, High Street in 1719.[112] He had been apprenticed as a cooper to his mother's cousin,[113] William Mudge, in 1705 when he was 14 years old,[114] and he must have also learned the trade of brewing in the brewery established by Mudge at the 'upper end' of Penny Street[115] before 1695. Mudge died in 1706[116] and Thomas Perkins carried on the brewery business while Pike inherited most of his relative's wealth, enabling him to set up his own brewery.[117] His business must have flourished during the early years, as he was able to take on an apprentice of his own by 1732.[118] Incidentally, Pike kept hogs which were fed on one of the by-products of the brewery, the spent grains, a practice also followed by Sir Thomas Ridge[119] and which was a common feature of almost all breweries of the time.[120] When he died in 1777, Pike's considerable estate passed to the families of his two daughters,[121] the Carters and the Bonhams.[122] Apart from his brewery, he had amassed 5,730 acres of land in the Isle of Wight, Hampshire and Sussex valued at £97,942.[123] The brewery business was run as a partnership between the five Carter grandchildren (each having a one-tenth share) and the four Bonham grandchildren (each having an eighth) with Sir John Carter as manager at a salary of £400 per annum.[124] Sir John, knighted in 1773 by George III, whilst he was Mayor of Portsmouth,[125] had entered his grandfather's business in 1766 at the age of 25,[126] and on becoming manager received the use of a country house at Milton and the brewery house at 19, High Street. The business (brewery and public houses) was supposedly valued at £200,000 in 1783 when Edward Carter sold his one-tenth share to the partners for £20,000,[127] but a valuation of 1845 puts the figure at £31,483, suggesting that £20,000 was actually the total valuation rather than a tenth.[128] Even accepting the lesser of these figures, it is obvious that the brewery was a very large-scale operation. The Carter family were very prominent in Portsmouth's politics, as Sir John's father, also named John, had been Mayor many times, and Sir John was Mayor no less than 10 times between 1769 and 1804, and also High Sheriff of Hampshire in 1784.[129]

Mudge's brewery subsequently passed to the widow of Thomas Perkins, who married George Kelley, a brewer, who became bankrupt in 1727.[130] He was replaced by Daniel Smith, and later by Elizabeth Smith, his widow, who entered into partnership with two merchants, William Rickman and Michael Atkins,[131] both of whom had served as Mayor. In 1784, the occupant was William Deacon, who was brewing there by 1775, when he was supplying beer to Russian men-of-war anchored at Spithead.[132] The third and smallest of the trio of Penny Street breweries was known as the Portsmouth Brewery. Brewing is said to have been started on the site in 1705 by Edward Webster.[133] He was certainly a brewer in 1699, as well as being a town constable,[134] but no further documentary evidence has survived. The 1730 rate returns mention only Pike and Smith as having breweries in the area, indicating that brewing on the site was not continuous. There is a lengthy gap until 1770 when William Norris, who had been brewing at the Point since 1759, bought the site.[135] Norris had taken his son-in-law,[136] Daniel Garrett, into partnership, and Garrett took over in 1784 on Norris's death. After acquiring the brewery in 1887, John and Arthur Brickwood claimed that it was 'established 1763', suggesting that this was when the brewery was built. Later they

back-dated their claim to 1705, using Webster's date.[137] (They could only legitimately trace their business back to 1851). This cluster of breweries in close proximity to the remains of the four naval brewhouses suggests that the water in the area was particularly suitable for brewing and was available in abundance.

The first major breweries outside the old town were those of Haberley, Pellatt, Ridge and Dixon, already mentioned. Apart from these, the only brewery traceable to the early 1700s was that of Mr Lee in 1715 at New Buildings,[138] the first area to be settled in Portsmouth Common. Two years later it was in the hands of Thomas Seymour,[139] and it was probably the site of the brewery owned by Moses Miall in 1784 in Wolfe's Court. The fifth 1784 brewery was in St George's Square, Portsmouth Common. The land, bounded by the Milldam Barracks which had been built as part of the Portsea fortifications and the milldam itself, had been bought by Robert Temple in 1757[140] and he had built his brewery on the site. After an interregnum between 1760 and 1773[141] when Robert's widow had been in charge, the business passed to their son Richard Godman Temple, a wealthy landowner who subsequently became Mayor in 1783.

The improvements in brewing technique made possible by the use of the thermometer and saccharometer enabled two new, and different, types of beer to be produced which depended on the local water for their fame.[142] Pale ale, a clear, hopped liquor, originated in the 'hard' water area of Burton-on-Trent, while the 'soft' water of London was the basis of porter, a dark, bitter beer. The popularity of these was such that the brewers of Burton and London were supplying their products to most towns throughout the country. This brought into existence ale and porter merchants who were obviously in competition with the local brewers, although the premium on the price of their wares, due to bottling and transport costs, put them into the luxury category. The Portsmouth brewers attacked this problem in two ways. They started brewing their own pale ales and porter, but these, unlike the ales of some other areas, for example, Dorchester[143] and Alton, never achieved a great reputation, so they also became merchants themselves, handling the products of Bass and Worthington from Burton, and Barclay, Perkins and Whitbread from London, selling them alongside their own local beers.

Another threat to the brewer's profits during the century, came from the availability of gin. The production of gin from home-grown corn had been encouraged by an Act of 1692.[144] William Pike, in order to safeguard his profits, acquired a distillery in Queen Street, Portsea from Messrs Ribouleau in 1747,[145] which he moved, first to Kingston and then to St George's Square where it was run as a separate concern by his nephews, the Spicers, under the title Pike and Spicer.[146] On Pike's death, his interest passed to the Carters and Bonhams, Sir John Carter having been active in the running of the distillery before becoming manager of the brewery. The products of the distillery were doubtless available in the same public houses as Pike's beer.

Technology and Growth: 1784 to 1824

The Budget Act of 1784[147] marked an important shift in government policy regarding brewers. Whereas since the Reformation legislation had encouraged the large common brewer the 1784 Act, by introducing a sliding scale of charges for the brewing licence, dependent on the actual quantity produced, lessened the disincentives to prospective new entrants to the trade. The annual licence charges ranged from £1 10s. 0d. for a producer of less than 1,000 barrels a year, up to £50 for 40,000 barrels or more. There was also a fixed percentage allowance for spoilt beer, but this would have been more advantageous to the larger brewers, who would tend to produce proportionately less waste than their smaller counterparts.[148]

A very important invention which came into use in breweries during this period was a temperature regulating device—the attemperator. This was simply a coil of metal piping through which hot or cold water could be passed. In conjunction with the thermometer, the fermenting wort could be kept at a constant temperature,[149] and for the first time successful results could be obtained throughout the whole year. Steam engines were coming into use at the larger breweries[150] where they were used to drive pumps and malt-mills in place of the blind work-horses, and steam was also being used for heating and cleaning purposes. Use of the thermometer and saccharometer was now common in the larger breweries, and the smaller brewer was being encouraged to use them by numerous essays and treatises revealing the 'science' of brewing. There was resistance by some of the old established brewers at this revelation of their 'mystery' which threatened their control of the industry. No longer did a potential brewer have to become an apprentice to one of the 'old masters'; all he needed was a little capital and the latest text-book on brewing to start up in business. The biggest problem for all brewers, which was where experience counted, was in the selection of the ingredients. An unscrupulous maltster or hop-merchant would have a much easier task of selling inferior goods to the new brewers, who would soon find that their profits suffered dramatically from their inexperience: this might explain the fact that many of the brewing businesses started during this time lasted only a few years.

One attempt to disguise the poor quality beer was to add

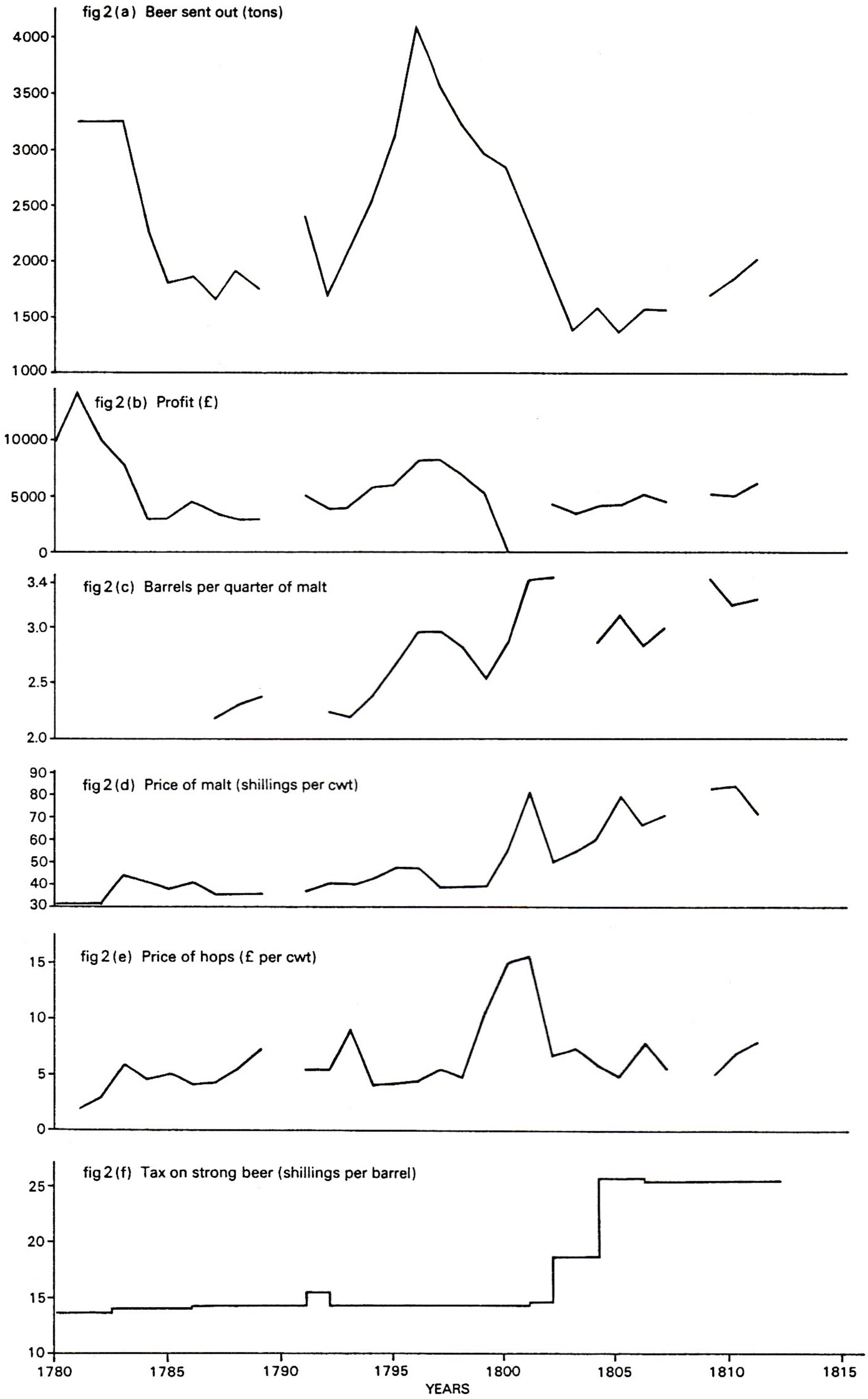


Fig. 2 Cost and Production data for Wm. Pike and Co's Brewery, 1780–1811. *Sources*: Pike and Co's figures H.R.O. 94M72/F155. Tax rates calculated from table in Scarisbrick.

narcotic substances and an Act of 1816[151] specifically forbade the addition of opium, grains of paradise ('they disperse wind and give warmth to the stomach'),[152] Cocculus Indicus ('in the nature of deadly nightshade'),[153] vitriol or any other preparation as a substitute for malt or hops. A local common brewer, writing to the editor of the *Hampshire Telegraph* in 1824[154] and hiding behind the name of 'Fair Play', was in no doubt as to the users of these drugs: '. . . fools only use Drugs, or any thing but Malt and Hops; and, if they do so, it is because, from ignorance of the principles of Brewing, they are unsuccessful in Brewing good Beer from those ingredients which I aver can alone produce it . . .'. He went on to point out that opium and other narcotics would send the customer to sleep, 'but surely the Brewer . . . would rather keep them awake . . .'. A Select Committee of the House of Commons in 1818 found that it was only the smaller brewers that resorted to adulteration, the reputable brewers having too much to lose.[155]

Locally, interest in canals led to several proposals for connecting Portsmouth to London and in 1822[156] the Portsea Canal was opened amidst high hopes of attracting some of the traffic from London away from the coasters. Although no unequivocal evidence exists, part of this traffic might have been porter produced by the London brewers, causing some of the Portsmouth brewers apprehension about the cheaper transport costs of the canal, which, by lowering prices, might increase the amount of competition. In the event, there was little cause to worry, the expectations of the promoters were never realised, traffic was light and the canal closed in 1830. Another local initiative during this period was the formation of the two rival water companies whose aim was to supply piped water to the borough. The brewers had two reasons to be interested in these schemes: their own requirements for water, and the threat that piped water would have on their beer sales. Not surprisingly, many of the local brewers invested in both of the new companies.[157]

The graphs in Figure 2, based on the annual summary of brewing at Pike and Co. from 1780 to 1811,[158] represent the only surviving local production and profit figures from this period, and they highlight some of the influences affecting the brewer and give us clues to the brewery's responses. The volume of beer sent out (Figure 2(a)) falls after the end of the American War and rises dramatically at the start of the Napoleonic Wars, a definite indication that the town's economy was still highly influenced by international relations. The rise unexpectedly stops in 1796 in the middle of the war, and this may be due to greater competition from other brewers. The subsequent decrease in output continues after the large increase in price of hops (Figure 2(e)) and malt (2(d)) and the dramatic increase in taxation (Figure 2(f)). As might be expected, the level of profit (Figure 2(b)) follows the amount sold, but during the great surge in output between 1792 and 1796 lags behind. This can only be explained by a cut in wholesale price, another indication that competition was increasing. The price of raw materials obviously had a bearing on profit particularly as the selling price could not be varied to any great extent. The effect of this is most noticeable in 1800 when a loss was made due to the startling increase in hop and malt prices: a lesser brewer might well have become insolvent under such unpredictable circumstances. Profitability was restored by reducing the average strength of the beer, as shown by Figure 2(c), and this remedy was applied subsequently, the strength gradually being lowered as the trend to higher malt prices continued. The annual level of production at Pike and Co., between 8,500 and 25,000 barrels, indicates that the brewery was quite large, comparing favourably with the largest London ale brewer, Stretton, with a barrelage of 20,200 in 1814:[159] comparison with the London porter breweries, the largest of which, Barclay, Perkins, brewed 270,300 barrels in 1811,[160] adds a sense of perspective.

The increasing affluence of the town's longer established brewers is reflected in the military and civic standing of the third generation of proprietors. With Daniel Garrett's death in 1808, his brewing business passed to his younger son[161] Henry, a Vice-Admiral and George, who, as Captain of the Garrison at Portsmouth, was knighted in 1820. Also in 1808, Sir John Carter was succeeded as head of William Pike and Co. by his son John, Member of Parliament for the borough for 22 years from 1816.[162] Another of William Pike's relations, and partner with the Carters in the Pike and Spicer distillery business since the death of his father, was Samuel Spicer. He had entered the brewing trade in 1796, buying a brewery in Christchurch,[163] and five years later he acquired Richard Temple's St George's Square brewery, paying £8,580 (excluding the cost of the public houses).[164] Samuel was knighted during one of four terms as Mayor, and remained in control of the business until his death in 1823. The distillery business ceased at this time, but the brewery was continued by brother David, another Mayor of the borough. A third brother, John, had taken over the Christchurch brewery in 1816. A genealogical tree of the Pike, Bonham, Carter and Spicer families is shown in Figure 3.

Not all of the older generation ordered their affairs as efficiently as the Carters and Garretts. Their close neighbour, William Deacon, died intestate in 1816 causing his family to resort to the Chancery Courts. The outcome was the appointment of son Henry, and a brewer, James Cull, as trustees, with instructions to run the business for the benefit of the family.[165]

Mathias[166] found that a brewery could be set up for about £200, and in Portsmouth the boom conditions, particularly during the Napoleonic wars, led to 20[167] new breweries being set up between 1784 and 1824 to serve the expanding population and the passing soldiers and sailors. Some 13 of them were in the newer districts of Halfway Houses, Kingston and Southsea, but surprisingly, two brewers set up within the old walled town: Robert Lipscomb in St Mary's Street in 1802 and Joseph Knott in East Street, on land made available by the reconstruction of the Camber dock, five years later. Lipscomb's brewery, which was attached to a public house, only survived for six years, but Knott, who was already the owner of a couple of public houses, continued brewing until his death in the 1850s.

The town of Portsea (as the settlement at Portsmouth Common became known in 1792) provided new sites for three breweries. One of these was attached to the *Wheatsheaf* public house near the Common Hard, and, like Lipscomb's brewery, lasted only a few years, an indication, perhaps, that small firms could not compete with the larger brewers whose beers were widely available in the area.[168] Brewing continued on the other two new sites for more than 50 years. The Hawk or Hawke brewery in Hawke Street was founded by George Sause, a wine and spirit merchant, in 1807. In 1809, he was advertising for three men to run his brewery—a manager, an assistant and a labourer,[169] while in 1810 he was advertising the brewery for let or sale.[170] But he was unsuccessful for seven years, then Thomas Winkworth moved in as a tenant until 1824. Sause was again advertising in 1826,[171] and Joseph Knott took advantage of additional capacity to his East Street brewhouse by leasing the Hawke Brewery for the next three years. After a few more short-term tenants, the brewery settled down to a period of stability when it was bought by George Clements in 1833.

The other new Portsea brewer was Robert Stroud who added a brewhouse to his malthouse in Old Rope Walk (Kent Street) in 1809. Malting seems to have been his main business, brewing being an obvious sideline in which to dabble. By 1825 the business had passed to his son William, who carried on until his death in the 1860s when brewing ceased. Two other maltsters also took up brewing. In Duncan Street at Halfway Houses, John Millegan and Co. started brewing in 1800, being superseded in 1812 after bankruptcy,[172] by John Barton, whilst in Kingston, William Fidlin added brewing to his malting business which was originally owned by John Norris, possibly a relation of William Norris, the brewer in the old town. Brewing continued on the site for 109 years, with Richard Murrell taking over in 1833. Kingston was a popular area for brewers, being closer to the grain producing countryside, or indeed part of it. A brewery flourished on Stubbington Farm, one of the last large farms on Portsea Island, from 1809 to 1821 in company with another brewery at the neighbouring *Land of Promise* public house (later the *Clarence Gardens*) which closed in 1814 owing to bankruptcy.[173] A third was established in the village in 1798, on the site of the present *Kingston Tavern*, which flourished until 1870.

Hambrook Street, in the new suburb of Southsea, was the site of two brewhouses built in 1814 by a baker, dealer and chapman[174] named William Tollervey, presumably as a speculative venture. His speculation was not successful and he was bankrupt by the end of 1815, one of his breweries never having been occupied.[175] The other one was occupied by the Union Brewery Society on a seven year lease.[176] The society was a very early example of a co-operative and was the brainchild of James White, one of four partners in Turner and Co.[177] who had brewed at the first Union Brewery (named from its location in Union, later Commercial Road) from 1801 to 1809.[178] The original brewery had ceased trading after a lawsuit in which White was the plaintiff,[179] and White's intention was to use those premises for the new society,[180] whose aim was to provide beer at reasonable prices to dockyard workers who would pay a regular subscription. In the event, the brewery was auctioned off and subsequently demolished.[181] The prospectus[182] of the society mentions the success of a similar venture in 'the Metropolis' which was probably the Golden Lane brewery, set up by public subscription in 1805 but soon forced to close by the Excise who were under pressure from the established brewers.[183] The potential to supply beer on contract to the Royal Navy was also mentioned, whilst the prospective subscribers of the £80,000 capital were doubtless influenced by the success of the Union Mill Society founded by dockyard workers in 1796 to supply their baking needs. The shareholders were guaranteed a return of 5 per cent on their investment, and were also able to buy malt and hops at cost, for their own use.[184] On expiration of the lease in Hambrook Street, a new brewery was built in Chandos Street, Halfway Houses in 1818 with the help of a large mortgage. A cooperage and malthouse were also built on the same site and brewing carried on until 1851 when the mortgagee demanded repayment. Trade had apparently declined by this time and the three survivors of the original thirteen who had signed the mortgage deed ended up in prison as they could not pay off the debt.[185] The Chandos Street premises became a glue factory.

Tollervey's other brewery in Hambrook Street was eventually disposed of and passed through various owners before Simeon Pinkard acquired it in 1826, and used it as security on a mortgage from Samuel Long, a well-known local solicitor.[186] Pinkard failed to keep up the repayments

War-damaged malthouses once part of Spicer's St. George's Square brewery, with the former brewery house to the right.
Portsmouth City Records Office.

on the mortgage, and in 1839, Long recovered the debt by taking over the brewery. With what later proved to be shrewd judgement, Long installed a brewer to carry on the trade until Edwin Searly Long, one of his ten children, was old enough to take over in 1847. Under Edwin and subsequent generations of the Long family, the Southsea Brewery expanded on the same site, and survived until 1933.

Two other notable breweries also started during this period. In 1796 John Read set up his Eden Brewery on the corner of Charlotte Street and Eden Row (part of Commerical Road), and in 1823 John Wickenden built a brewery next to the toll-house where Church Path crossed over the Portsea canal.[187] The toll-house became the *Cobden Arms* public-house in 1835[188] after the closure of the canal, and the business passed through many owners, until William Purchase bought it in 1836. William combined a coal business with the brewing while his brother John ran the public house. In 1847 the latter was being run by Thomas Brickwood and it passed, in 1850, to his widow Fanny who acquired the brewery in the following year.

Retail Brewers: 1825 to 1829

The 1824 Retail Brewers Act[189] introduced a class of brewer allowed to retail his beer for consumption 'off' his premises. He was subject to the ordinary Excise regulations but had no waste allowance, could not brew in quantities of less than two quarters of malt (equivalent to 8 barrels of beer) and was required to produce more than 100 barrels each year. For the privilege of retailing his beer he paid £5 for the off-licence in addition to £50 for his brewing licence which was the highest rate applicable to a common-brewer brewing more than 40,000 barrels per annum.[190] The cost of buying one of these licences would have deterred most people, but the chance of obtaining a retail licence, at a time when the licencing justices were granting few new publicans' licences, was enough motivation to those with sufficient capital to invest in a new venture. Nationally the number of brewers increased from 3,430 in 1824, to 25,528 in the following year, clearly showing the popularity of the new licence.[191]

Between 1825 and 1829, 18 brewers started trading in Portsmouth and by the end of 1833 eight of them had ceased brewing. Five of these were in Southsea, two in Halfway Houses, and one in Portsea, but the successful ones, who survived between 24 and 60 years, were all in the growing suburb of Halfway Houses. Pigot in 1830[192] lists 33 brewers, 18 of them retail brewers, while the *Hampshire Telegraph*[193] in 1830 states that there were 30 retail brewers in the town, which suggests that all except the very large brewers fell into that category. It seems likely that those who brewed for only a year or two exhausted their original capital, finding little or no money left over to take out a further licence. Success was more likely to occur in the newly built-up areas in which trade was not controlled by the established brewers. Southsea and Kingston, although growing apace, attracted the middle-classes whose tastes were shifting away from beer towards coffee, tea[194] and wine, and who also started to benefit from the availability of piped water. The working-classes, who settled in Halfway Houses, were still firmly wedded to beer as a main beverage, coffee and tea being too expensive and piped water being inconvenient, as it was only available from standpipes to those unable or unwilling to pay for its installation in their homes.

All but one of the new breweries started in this period were on virgin sites, and the locations reflect the growth of the suburbs. Almost in the same way that a church would be built to serve a new area of population, so would one or more enterprising men build a brewery. One brewer who was an exception to the virgin site rule, and who was also the most successful newcomer, was William Cox who added his Waterloo (later Eagle) Brewery to the *Queen's Head* public house in Waterloo Place, Landport in 1826. The house eventually became known as *Cox's Hotel* and the recently demolished house of that name, on the site of part of the brewery, commemorated the name of the long-dead brewer. Success was obviously helped by the presence of a convenient retail outlet, but this was not a prerequisite: John Anderson, who built his brewery next to his dwelling-house in Eden Row, Landport, in 1827, obtained enough trade to pass on a thriving business to his son, John Lovegrove Anderson, in 1833. A near neighbour of the Andersons, James Gardiner, entered the trade in 1829 behind what later became the *Lord John Russell* public house. His business would have gone unremarked here except for two points. Firstly, the brewery had the distinction of being the first brewing business that the Brickwood brothers acquired. That the public house was more important than the brewery was demonstrated by the immediate closure of the brewing side. There was also one tied beerhouse involved in the deal.[195] Secondly, what might be the shell of the brewery still exists behind 232, Commercial Road, in Paradise Street. Although this seems unlikely, the ground plan of the building follows that marked 'brewery' on the 1866 Ordnance Survey map. If this is correct, this is the oldest surviving brewery building in the city.

The Growth of the Tied-House System to 1830

The tied house system had its roots in the 1552[196] legislation requiring licensees to provide sureties and character references, and the system had reached such proportions by 1830 that the Beerhouse Act was passed partly to over-

4.

come the perceived evil. In the interests of clarity, this section breaks from the purely chronological format previously adhered to and covers the growth of the system up to the passing of the Beerhouse Act.

The system grew partly by accident and partly by design and this is reflected in the various forms that the tie could take. All the forms had the common goal of legally forcing the publican to take his supplies from the brewer. Sometimes the tie would only apply to beer, but might also include wines and spirits (particularly where the brewer had his own wine and spirit business, e.g. Pike with the associated Pike and Spicer distillery) and even tobacco. The least binding on the publican was the loan-tie by which the brewer lent the occupier the 'going-in' money or gave a low-interest loan for improvements to the premises. This was particularly common in London where freeholds were largely unavailable and is still very popular, with many so-called 'free-houses' being tied in this way. The brewer could call in this debt at any time, but this might mean him losing his hold on the outlet: the occupier was free to transfer his debt (and his custom) to another brewer if he wished simply, by paying off the old debt.

A second form of tie was an extension of the first where the loan by the brewer was secured by way of a mortgage of the premises. The need for money may have been caused by alterations being necessary, but might also have been a way to pay off debts to suppliers amongst whom the brewer would have been the chief creditor. The owner was again at liberty to break the tie by paying off the mortgage but if the interest repayments stopped, the brewer was entitled to put the premises up for sale, he himself being the likely buyer, thus creating the third and most obvious form of brewery tie—ownership of the freehold. This was more likely to have been a deliberate act, either by buying up an established public-house when it came onto the market or by building a new house where an unfulfilled demand was seen to exist. Fourthly there was the lease of 500 years or longer, which was more in the nature of a freehold and was usually associated with land owned by local councils or large landowners such as Winchester College. The fifth form was the short lease, generally of seven, 14 or 21 years, which was probably more attractive to the owner of the house rather than the brewer, who was usually responsible for maintenance and upkeep of the building whilst the owner received his annual income. The disadvantages to the brewer stemmed from not knowing if the lease would be renewed at the end of the period, but otherwise he was in complete control as he could choose his own tenant and attach any conditions that helped his business. A sixth form occasionally existed, whereby one brewer would lease all of the houses owned by another brewer who wished to cease brewing but continue to receive a regular income.

In Portsmouth there is evidence before 1830 of all but the first and fifth of these forms. The conditions in which the loan-tie system flourished in London, where landowners appear to have been reluctant to give a lease to other than the occupier, did not exist in Portsmouth and the loan-tie, if it did occur, was of little significance. The short lease was more a feature of the second half of the nineteenth century when the brewers were more likely to take on the greater risks in order to secure an outlet: the acquisition of properties before 1830 is generally characterised by good business acumen rather than the less dignified scramble for licences of later years.

The earliest record of a public house being owned by a local brewer is in 1634 when Henry Holt bought the *Dolphin* in the High Street, and other scattered references to

brewery ownership occur for the next hundred years. Clark[197] found little hard evidence of tieing in the 1620s, but a draft parliamentary bill of the time sought to forbid the practice, indicating that tieing was becoming popular. The dearth of property ownership records for this period makes it impossible to judge the extent of the tie in Portsmouth, but two factors suggest that it was not a common phenomenon. During this period, the licence to sell beer applied to the person named on that licence rather than an actual building, thus the public house was the residence of the licensee. An investment in a building as a public house would be subject to the continuing goodwill of the licensee: if the licensee moved, the owner would be left with premises that might not attract another licensed person, thus the investment could be quite insecure. The logical outcome of this was that the licensee would own his own premises. The second factor was the structure of the brewing trade itself. With total control of the trade effectively in the hands of two or three politically-minded common brewers, who were doubtless in collusion with each other, there was little competition for outlets and thus no justification for purchasing public houses as a protective measure. Notwithstanding these negative influences, ownership of property has always been considered as a sound investment and public house ownership would have been a logical step for the brewer with surplus funds to invest. A commentator on political life in Portsmouth, writing in 1748,[198] somewhat mockingly summed up the local situation as follows: 'A rich Burgher is one, who has met with so much success in the world, as to be able to purchase the house he lives in; and if, by a further Improvement of his stock, he is afterwards in a condition to buy a Publick-House, and supply it with his own Merchandise, we then esteem him a very Great Man'. There were undoubtedly 'Great Men' amongst the brewers in seventeenth and eighteenth century Portsmouth.

In 1705 the first documented case of a brewer building a public house for himself occurs, when William Mudge built the *Joyners Arms* (later the *Old Royal Oak*) in College Street in Portsmouth Common. This was clearly a case of supplying a new market as it was amongst the first buildings in the area.[199] This house, along with two others was bequeathed by Mudge to William Pike,[200] providing the latter with a foundation for his new business. By the middle of the eighteenth century the situation had started to change, partly because licensing of new premises had become more strict,[201] but mainly due to the emergence of a new breed of brewer. The naval contracts had ended, leaving the public house as the main outlet for a brewery's product, thus increasing its importance. The new-style common brewer was personified in William Pike, who was totally devoted to his brewing business and was not an active politician. He appears to have had a definite policy of buying up licensed houses: a rent roll of 1768,[202] covering only the old town, shows him owning 22 public houses, and by the time of his death in 1777, he owned 58 on Portsea Island and nine in Gosport.[203] This upset the status quo and encouraged other brewers to follow his example: the 1768 rent roll shows William Norris having eight and Mr Lys, a Gosport brewer, having four. The heirs of Sir Thomas Ridge had 21 properties listed but it has proved impossible to separate the public from the private houses. Nevertheless, some of these were undoubtedly licensed: Ridge is known to have owned the *Dolphin* in the High Street[204] and the *Ship Leopard* in Havant Street, Portsea.[205] This spread of public house ownership suggests that a more binding form of agreement between the licensee and the owning brewer had evolved which restrained the publican from withdrawing his licence from the house. It also shows that the brewers had assimilated the extra clerical work involved in collecting rents, probably by a simple extension of their well-proven system for collecting payments due on beer supplied.

The economics of distributing a heavy, non-premium commodity by horse-drawn dray effectively restricted a brewer to a radius of about six miles[206] and thus the demand for beer was usually a function of the population within that area. In Portsmouth, the movement of sailors and soldiers gave a much greater demand, and thus supported a larger brewing industry, than for towns of comparable size. For this reason, outside brewers have always been interested in securing a part of that market whilst the local brewers, until the First World War, tended to be somewhat parochial, never having to deliver too far from home and incur the extra costs involved. The traders of Gosport also benefitted from the presence of the navy and army, and the town could almost be considered as a suburb of Portsmouth, albeit separated by the harbour. The harbour was obviously no barrier to the beer trade as is clearly shown by both Gosport and Portsmouth brewers owning public houses in each others' home territory.

The brewers who entered the trade during the second half of the eighteenth century were quick to join the fray. Deacon in the old town was active, particularly in the 1770s, in acquiring premises mainly within the walled town,[207] whilst Temple in Portsea concentrated not only on his local trade but also on the main thoroughfares out of the town. His choice of sites showed a great deal of foresight and a list of the 31 licensed premises that he owned in 1801[208] includes numerous sites which are still trading today, including the *Wiltshire Lamb* (recently renamed *Drummonds*) in Southsea, the *Fountain* at North End, the *Keppels Head* and *Ship Anson* on the Hard, and the *Fountain* (later *Gloucester* and now *Mary Rose*) and

the *Little Blue Posts* (now the *Pembroke*), both in Old Portsmouth. The 31 houses were valued at a total of £27,360, a considerable sum. The list also mentions two mortgages, of £700 and £430, advanced by Richard Temple on public houses. All but five of the premises listed were on Portsea Island: the two in Gosport and one in Cosham are not unexpected, but the *Red Lion* at Horndean and the *White Hart* at Purbrook Heath, respectively ten and seven miles from the brewery and both involving the haul up the steep gradient of Portsdown Hill, come as a surprise. Obviously the state of the roads had improved, but in general, Portsdown remained the northern boundary for Portsmouth brewers, despite the availability of rail transport, until the twentieth century, when motor transport became available. The hill was no obstacle to trade in the opposite direction, the only way in which Portsmouth brewers were at a disadvantage where infiltrating markets was concerned.

In 1816, 30 per cent of all licences in the country were tied to the brewers, with a bias towards the southern counties and with urban areas having the highest percentages, e.g. in Reading, the local brewers owned all but two of the 68 public houses.[209] The situation in Portsmouth six years later, was that only 29 out of 231 were free of any tie.[210] Competition to the long-established brewers was provided by some of the newly established brewers entering into the marketplace. Joseph Brown in Halfway Houses carried on the policy of his predecessor at the Eden Brewery, John Reed, buying up houses mainly close to his brewery, whilst Joseph Knott in Portsmouth acquired some of the non-tied houses in the old town. Pike and Co. under the Carter family and Norris's successors the Garretts, both continued expanding their estates. Pike made an isolated foray to the east and acquired a house at Rowlands Castle (later known as *The Railway Tavern*) together with at least 10 public houses in Gosport, while Garrett adopted a different approach in 1790, by leasing the houses owned by a Gosport brewer named Carter (apparently unrelated to the Portsmouth Carters) who wished to leave the business, as well as buying four Gosport houses from the executors of Henry Lys.[211]

The Trade Thrown Open: 1830

By 1830 three aspects of the alcoholic drink industry were giving concern to the legislature. Firstly, the level of spirit drinking was considered to be too high, and because of this, the temperance movement was gaining popularity, although at this stage fermented beverages such as beer or cider were considered to be acceptable alternatives to the demon spirit. Secondly, there was a reaction against private brewers who escaped the taxes imposed on public brewers. It was argued that as private brewing had become the province of the better-off, the taxes were being paid by the poorer people who did not have the opportunity to brew their own beer and who were thus being unfairly penalised.[212] Thirdly, there was a growing unease in Parliament about the extent of the tied-house system. The extent of the tie found by a House of Commons Committee in 1816 was a great surprise to the Members, although there had been no investigation as to whether the tied houses served more expensive or worse quality beer than their 'free' counterparts.[213] The outcome of these concerns were two Acts passed in 1830.

In the first Act,[214] the Chancellor abolished beer duty, leaving tax on hops at 2d. per lb and malt at 2s. 7d. per bushel. Partially to compensate for the lost revenue, he increased the tax on spirits.[215] The Act was obviously aimed at the first two above-mentioned points, but, in removing the restrictions imposed by the Excise in its efforts to collect the old duty, the brewer was free to brew to suit his customers rather than to suit the tax-collectors.[216] The cost of a brewing-licence, previously calculated from the amount brewed, was to be computed from the amount of malt used, assuming four barrels of beer from one quarter of malt.[217] (Compare this extraction rate to that in Figure 2(c) where Pike was getting up to 3½ barrels per quarter). The average strength had dropped although improved brewing techniques meant that more fermentable material could be extracted from the same amount of malt. Doubtless the established brewers were quite pleased about this Act, which would have had the effect of reducing the price of beer slightly, and also discourage private brewing, but their satisfaction would have been dampened by the measures taken to curb the perceived evil of the tied-house, which took the form of the Beerhouse Act of October 1830.[218]

The effect of the Act was to throw the retail beer trade open to any householder who could afford the excise licence fee of two guineas. Inevitably it was very popular, with nearly 25,000 licences being taken out in the first year of operation.[219] The Act also effectively nullified the Retail Brewers Act by allowing a brewer to retail his product for consumption on his premises simply by taking out a beer-retailer's licence in addition to the ordinary brewing licence which was cheaper and had less restrictions attached than the retail-brewers licence. Not surprisingly, the number of retail brewers licences issued for the whole of England in 1839 was only 13.[220]

The ever-enterprising people of Portsmouth grasped this new opportunity to make money, and 400 beerhouse licences were taken out in the first few days of operation.[221] There was, of course, a need for someone to produce the beer which was sold in these 'Tom and Jerrys'. The long-established brewers probably felt that their repu-

tations would suffer by being associated with these retailers over whom they had no control, although the beerhouses had the effect of making 'one of our principal brewers' lower the price of his best beer to one shilling per gallon.[222] The more recent entrants into brewing probably saw the beer-retailers as their salvation, and some of them took advantage of the Act and took out retailer's licences. Amongst them was John Anderson, whose desire to sell his beer led him to be one of the first offenders against the new Act: he was fined for serving after permitted hours.[223] A second 'freeing' of the trade also took place in 1830. By a Treasury Order, retailers of table beer,[224] at a price not exceeding 1½d. per quart, were exempted from all forms of control; both magisterial and by the Excise. The extent of these 'swankey shops', which came under Excise control in 1861,[225] and the brewers who supplied them, is totally unknown,[226] but it is inconceivable that they did not exist in Portsmouth or any other large town.

Supplying the Beerhouses: 1830 to 1847

The operation of the Beerhouse Act meant that, until its repeal in 1869, virtually all new breweries on Portsea Island had a beerhouse attached (see Appendix). Reference to Table 1 shows that a brewery starting during this period had about an 80 per cent chance of lasting ten or more years and a 51 per cent chance of lasting 20 or more years, which was a very great improvement on the previous three decades when there were no beerhouses. Per capita consumption of beer throughout the whole country remained largely unchanged;[227] the new breweries were, in general, benefitting from the increase in the population rather than taking business from the established brewers.

Table 1 also shows that there were apparently no real advantages or disadvantages in choosing a particular area for the commencement of brewing. Kingston proved better for longevity, but Southsea was the only area not to produce a brewery founded during this time that lasted more than 40 years, this being a reflection on the type of inhabitant attracted to the area.[228]

The old town again produced one very successful brewery which Thomas Weeks built in Warblington Street in 1832. He was very close to the St Mary's Street area which was full of beerhouses of very dubious character[229] and which seems to have acquired the notorious reputation formerly attached to the Point area, possibly as a result of the commercial dock being built on the Camber, but also doubtless influenced by the presence of the Colewort Barracks in the Warblington Street – St Mary's Street area. Brewing continued at Weeks's Beehive Brewery, with its attached beerhouse, until 1895, it having been leased to William Feltham on Weeks's death in 1870 and afterwards sold to Alexander Stannard. In 1895 William Dupree acquired the business and brewing was transferred to Dupree's other brewery at Cosham. A bonded store was built on the site of the Beehive Brewery which was used by Portsmouth United Breweries, Brickwoods and then Whitbread Wessex.

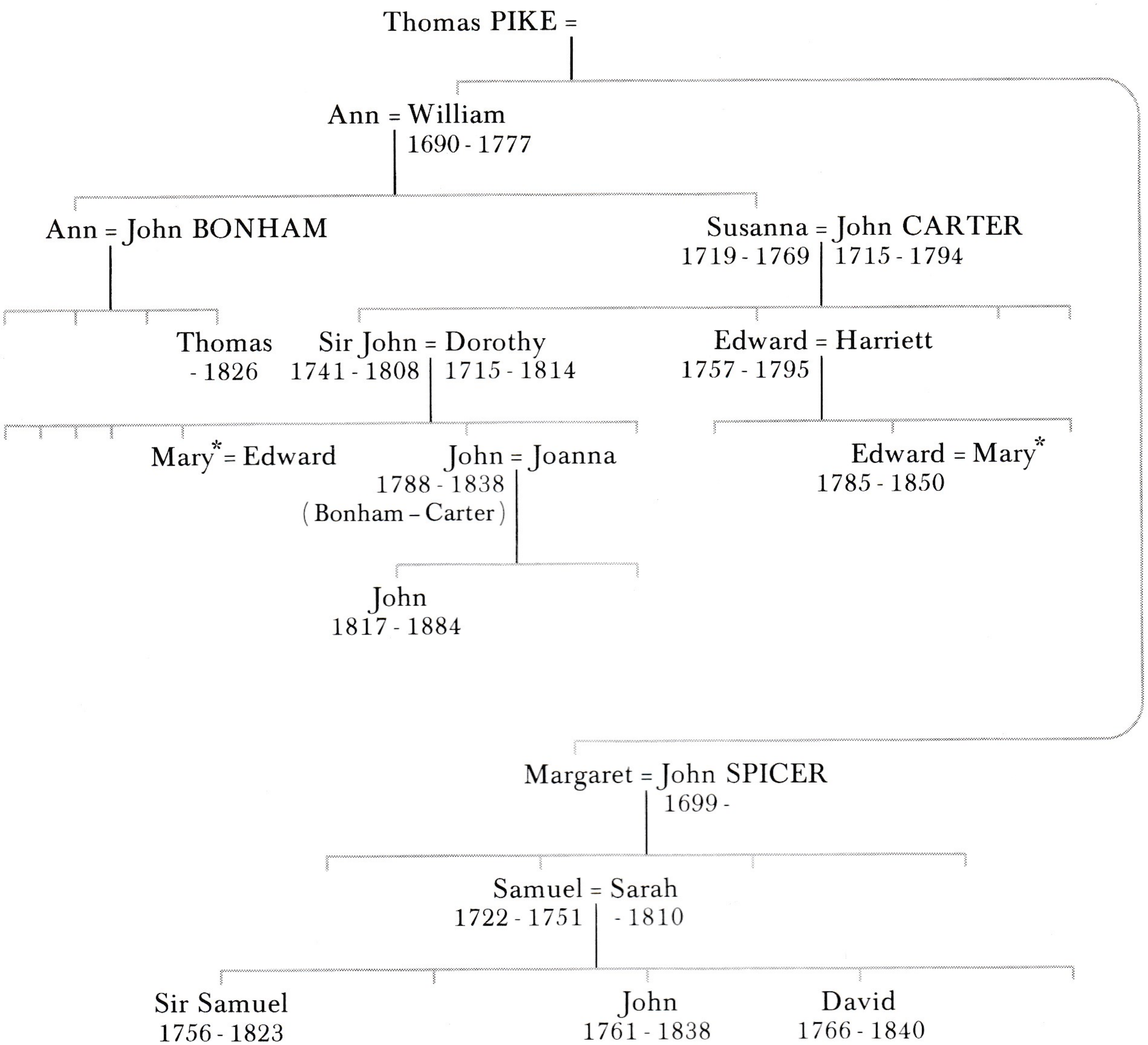
Table 1

LONGEVITY OF BREWING BUSINESSES STARTING BETWEEN 1830 AND 1847, BY AREA

Number of Years	Old Town (P'mouth)	Portsea	Landport	Southsea	Kingston
1–5	–	2	3	1	–
6–9	–	1	2	1	–
10–19	1	4	6	3	–
20–29	–	2	3	3	–
30–39	–	4	2	2	–
40–49	–	–	4	–	1
⩾ 50	1	1	1	–	1
Total	2	14	21	10	2

Source: P.C.R.O. Rate Returns 1830–47

Brewing came to an end at New Buildings in Portsea in 1843 when the Admiralty acquired the area for dockyard expansion. Three breweries were involved, two of which simply ceased trading,[230] but the third, which had been set up by John Methven in 1837, moved premises. The rate books show that Methven had lived on the premises in Sandwich Street since 1830 and it seems likely that he ran a beerhouse before adding brewing to his business. He moved his plant to nearby Catherine Row paying £210 for 2 dwellinghouses in March 1845.[231] He also bought the adjoining slaughterhouse, stable and three messuages for £400 and immediately mortgaged all of the property for £600. Five months later he had erected a brewhouse on the site of the slaughterhouse and taken a further £200 on mortgage from Andrew Nance, the record-breaking coach-driver and innkeeper. John Methven died in January 1847 leaving the brewery and a beerhouse in Daniel Street to his son, also named John. John junior, maybe lacking his father's enthusiasm for brewing, failed to pay the interest due on the mortgage, and Nance, his coaching days finished with the coming of the railway, put the premises up for auction in November 1848. The highest bidder at £650 was the unusually named Dormer Jewell who had been living in the area prior to acquiring the brewery: his previous occupation is not known. The brewery consisted at this time of a pump in a well, a 9 barrel under-



* Mary Carter married her cousin Edward Carter.

Fig. 3 Relevant members of Pike, Bonham, Carter and Spicer families. *Source*: Everitt, *Pedigrees*.

back, a 5 quarter mash tun and cover, a hopback, two coolers of 6 and 12 barrels, two 20 barrel squares (rectangular fermenting vessels), a 30 barrel square, a 9 barrel copper, a 60 barrel liquor back together with a hoist and a malt-bin. It seems reasonable to assume that the weekly output was equal to the capacity of the fermenting squares, i.e. 70 barrels which would entail brewing twice a week. The Catherine brewery passed, on Dormer Jewell's death in 1868, to his son Edward William Jewell who expanded the brewery by acquiring neighbouring properties. He also sank a new well to a depth of 700 feet which produced 'the best brewing water on the south coast', a fact that doubtless influenced the decision taken by Brickwood and Co. Ltd. to move their brewing to the site after buying out Jewell in 1899. They spent three years and £40,000 on rebuilding the brewery, again acquiring adjacent properties in Chapel Row, Daniel Street, Catherine Row and Bonfire Corner. By the time they transferred brewing, along with the name Portsmouth Brewery, from Garrett's old brewery in Penny Street, Chapel Row had become Admiralty Road. The buildings still stand although Whitbread Wessex, as Brickwoods became after Whitbread took over in 1972, ceased brewing in 1983. It is unlikely that any trace of the 1845 brewery survived the 1900 rebuild.

Another brewer moved to a new site and could justifiably claim to have been one of the first affected by the arrival of the railway. Stephen Bright's brewhouse was on

the site of the new terminus in Landport Road, and he was also brewing at the *Gladstone's Head* in Upper Arundel Street at the time, both breweries being leased. He consolidated his business by building his own brewery in Charles Street in the northern part of Landport with a beerhouse, the *Shakespeares Head*, attached.[232]

The Portsmouth Brewery was being managed for the heirs of Sir George and Henry Garrett by Henry's son, John Thomas Garrett, who was also secretary to the Floating Bridge Co. which connected Portsmouth and Gosport. Pike and Co. had come under Edward Carter in 1838, on the death of his uncle and father-in-law, John Bonham Carter (Figure 3 refers). Edward was the first elected Mayor of Portsmouth after the passing of the Municipal Corporations Act in 1835, replacing another brewer, David Spicer. The Bonham family interest in Pike's brewery passed to John Carter in 1826 on the death of Thomas Bonham on the condition that the family name be perpetuated: thus John Carter became John Bonham Carter. In 1840, the Carters inherited Spicer's brewery on the death of David Spicer. The Pike & Co., and Spicer businesses were valued at £59,514 and £35,381 respectively in 1845 and were carried on separately until 1849[233] when they were merged under the name Pike, Spicer and Co.,[234] the former Spicer brewery ceasing production at the same time. It was used as a builder's yard until Joseph Lush bought it in 1859[235] and brewing re-commenced, finally ceasing in 1910.[236] The brewery tap in Richmond Place, which was added by Lush in 1859, and the brewery house opposite, which may date from Temple's day, are all that survive. Another brewery to cease trading in 1843 was Deacon's in Penny Street. A further Chancery Court action by the Deacon family in 1842 resulted in a ruling that the brewery and properties should be auctioned and the proceeds distributed. The brewery was demolished to make way for a canteen attached to the Clarence Barracks.[237]

The major breweries were surrounded by dwelling houses and other buildings which had to be purchased in order to expand the brewery premises, but in the period between acquisition and incorporation into the brewery, a house could provide accommodation for brewery workers. The 1841 census returns, in conjunction with the rate returns, show that this practice was limited to the old-established brewers, i.e. Garrett and both Carter breweries, possibly because they were on more congested sites than the newer entrants to the industry. The situation at Deacon's brewery was somewhat different in that seven tenements were located within the walls surrounding the brewery and its yard.[238] In addition to accommodation for the labourers, each large brewery had its 'brewery house' where the senior partner or manager would live. The Portsmouth Brewery provided a house in Penny Street for the manager, but whilst William Pike had also lived in Penny Street,[239] opposite his brewery, his successors, the Carters, resided in the more fashionable High Street behind which the brewery expanded. As previously mentioned, the Spicers had a house in St George's Square opposite their brewery. The small-scale brewers invariably lived on their own premises, helping their wives or children in the beerhouse when not actively brewing. Where very small quantities were being produced, the operation of a brewery was well within the capabilities of a single person: when larger quantities were required, the actual brewing could still be done by just one person, but the ancilliary operations of cask-filling and transportation required the employment of labourers. The 1841 census[240] lists 84 brewers in the borough but this undoubtedly includes some brewing labourers as well as actual brewers. As there were only 49 breweries in the town at the time, most of

TO be SOLD pursuant to an Order of the High Court of Chancery made in a certain cause "DEACON *v.* DEACON," with the approbations of the Honourable Sir George Rose, one of the Masters of the said Court, at the George Inn, at Portsmouth.

The FREEHOLD and long LEASEHOLD ESTATES, of the late James and William Deacon, consisting of the well arranged and old established BREWERY, situate in Penny Street, Portsmouth, abutting on the Ramparts with a 60 barrel copper, all requisite Buildings, Stabling, and Yards, (and an ample supply of fine spring water,) necessary for carrying on a Trade of 10,000 to 12,000 barrels per annum.

There is an excellent RESIDENCE for a Managing Partner, and seven TENEMENTS for the Men, the whole occupying a large space of ground enclosed by lofty brick walls.

The PUBLIC HOUSES occupy good commanding situations in the Town of Portmouth, and in Portsea, Landport, Kingston, Kingston Cross, and the in occupation of yearly tenants under agreements.

The time of Sale will be shortly advertised, when particulars, which are in course of preparation, may be had (gratis), at the said Master's Chambers, in Southampton Buildings, Chancery Lane, London; Messrs. Fosters and Evans, Solicitors, No 28 John Street, Bedford Row, London; Messrs. Wing and Twining, Solicitors, No. 1, Gray's Inn Square; of Mr. Newlyn, Solicitor, Portsmouth; at the Auction Mart, Bartholomew Lane, and the Corn Exchange, Mark Lane, London; of Messrs Winstanley Paternoster Row, at the principal Inns at Portsmouth, Southampton, and Chichester; of Messrs. Rose and Henry Deacon, at the Brewery, who will show the Property.

Sale particulars of Deacon's brewery, Hampshire Telegraph, *18 Sept. 1843.*

Table 2

LICENSED HOUSES OWNED BY BREWERS AND GROSS ESTIMATED RENTAL (GER) OF THE BREWERY, 1830 AND 1847

1830			1847		
Owner/number of Breweries	Number of Licensed Houses	GER of Brewery £	Owner/number of Breweries	Number of Licensed Houses	GER of Brewery £
Carter (Pike)	74	225	Carter (Pike)	82	375
Spicer	40	182	Carter (Spicer)	38	288
Deacon	25	90	Garrett	26	330
Garrett	22	198	Brown	10	41.5
Knott	6	45	Knott	8	50
Brown	6	25	Paul	6	35
Pink & Collins	4	46	Long	5	40
Union	0	130	Clements	3	33.5
Cox & Fry	0	55	Murrell	3	62.5
Pinkard	0	32	Cox	2	96.5
3	0	20–29	Luke	2	45
17	0	10–19	Weeks	2	40
11	0	1–9	Anderson	2	8.5
			Davey	1	26.5
			Union	0	110
			Hollier	0	40
			7	0	30–39
			18	0	20–29
			19	0	10–19
			1	0	1–9
Total Breweries: 41			Total Breweries: 61		

Source: P.C.R.O. Rate Returns 1830, 1847; various title deeds

them being staffed solely by the proprietor, the half-dozen large firms account for about half the total workforce, with an average of about seven employees each. Although this is likely to be an underestimate, due to some employees appearing on the census returns as merely labourers or clerks, the non labour-intensive nature of the brewing industry is apparent.

In the absence of any productivity or profit figures for any of the town's breweries during this period, an approximate guide to the relative size of each brewery can be obtained using the gross estimated rental (GER) figures from the rate returns[241] and the number of tied houses. Both sources have their limitations: the rate assessments suffer by inconsistent separation of other attached accommodation from the actual brewery premises, while information on brewery ownership of public houses is not comprehensive until 1838 when the rate books start giving the owner's name, and even then the information is not always reliable. However these are the only quantitative measures available to us, although a third source, available in a very few cases, is the capacity of brewing equipment, sometimes mentioned in sale particulars and in title deeds.

The number of licensed houses and the GER for 1830 and 1847 are set out in Table 2 and summarised in Table 3. The figures are largely self-explanatory but there are some points which require clarification. The Union Brewery was obviously a special case as regards ownership of licensed houses, its constitution making it unnecessary

Table 3

SUMMARY OF TABLE 2 CLASSIFYING BREWERIES BY GROSS ESTIMATED RENTAL (GER) 1830 AND 1847

Size	GER (£)	With Public Houses	Without Public Houses	Total
1830				
Large	⩾ 100	3	1	4
Medium	20–99	4	5	9
Small	< 20	–	28	28
1847				
Large	⩾ 150	3	–	3
Medium	30–149	9	9	18
Small	< 30	2	38	40

Source: P.C.R.O. Rate Returns 1830, 1847; various title deeds

for it to compete in the wider market with the other brewers. Of the other large- and medium-sized brewers, both Pinkard, and Cox and Fry who had no houses in 1830, had entered the fray by 1847 (under the ownership of Long and Cox respectively). The small brewers, with just two excep-

tions in 1847, had no interest outside their own small operations. Of these two exceptions, Henry Davey was almost in the medium category and as such may be ignored, but John Anderson had the lowest GER of any of the 61 brewers. The explanation of this apparent failure of the otherwise reasonable correlation between the two measures is simply that the GER applies only to a brewhouse, whereas most of the other figures also include living and retailing accommodation.

A serious drawback of using the number of licenced premises as an indicator of size is the number of non-tied houses. In 1830 about 80 per cent of the public houses were owned by the breweries, while the 400 new beerhouses, although not owned by breweries, would have had little effect on brewery size in their few month's existence. By 1847, the combined proportion of tied beer and public houses was approximately 57 per cent. Obviously some brewers were supplying the non-tied houses, and if later trends are extrapolated backwards to 1847, the old-established brewers were uninterested in the beerhouses which made up the bulk of the 'free' houses, leaving that trade to the more dynamic newer brewers. The correlation

Pike and Co's brewery house on the site of the Antelope *public house, 19 High Street,*
Portsmouth Central Library.

Pike, Spicer and Co.'s brewery yard, Penny Street.
Portsmouth Central Library.

of the two sets of figures indicates that the non-tied business was fairly evenly spread between the brewers. It should also be remembered that there was still a 'take-home' trade, which, although gradually declining in the face of competition, particularly from tea, was still a worthwhile market for the brewers.

In the ten cases where the capacity of brewing plant is known, the three small brewers[242] had 1- or 2-quarter mash tuns (equivalent to four or eight barrels), the three medium ones[243] ranged between 5- and 15-quarter (20 and 60 barrel) and the one large brewery[244] had a 35-quarter (140 barrel) capacity. The remaining three figures apply to breweries in the small category, but the size of the equipment, at 5-,[245] 7-[246] and 7½-quarters,[247] indicates that they were firmly in the 'medium' range. Again the discrepancy may be explained by the GER being assessed simply on the brewery premises. As a guide to the potential production capacity based on the size of equipment, the 60 barrel copper at Deacon's brewery was said to be capable of producing 10 to 12,000 barrels per annum:[248] that is brewing four times a week throughout the year.

The Beerhouse Act achieved one of its aims immediately, that of eroding the tied house system. Of the new beerhouses, only the ones directly attached to breweries were tied initially. The established brewers, Pike, Garrett, Deacon and Spicer, all had spirit businesses as well as their brewing and they seem to have been content owning 80 per cent of the public houses in the borough. When Deacons ceased trading, there was so little interest in their 27 public houses, that a second auction had to be held.[249] Only seven of Deacon's houses were bought by brewers in Portsmouth, although two Gosport brewers bought two each, six of the licences lapsed and ten passed to non-brewers,[250] an indication that, regardless of the fact that new spirit licences were not being granted by the magistrates, the brewers were not unduly concerned about increasing their outlets. This further suggests that the established brewers were not particularly affected by the advent of beerhouses and the wave of new small brewers which supplied them: if there had been a threat, surely the obvious move would have been to acquire as many outlets as possible to safeguard the position, either by buying up public houses or by setting up beer houses – a phenomenon which took place only rarely before the railway brought increasing outside competition in 1847. Both Garrett and Pike, Spicer used the device of moving licences from the over-provisioned area of Old Portsmouth to the newer suburbs. As this was virtually the only way to obtain a new spirit outlet, the proportion of public houses owned by the brewers was relatively static between 1830 and 1847, not deviating much from 80 per cent. On the other hand only about 20 per cent of the beerhouses were tied by 1847.

The ownership of licensed houses in Portsmouth has been dealt with elsewhere,[251] but what has not been stressed is the insular nature of the Portsmouth brewer's holdings. Obviously restrictions imposed by transport were an important influence, but the relatively accessible market of Gosport had been entered by only the two largest firms, Garrett and Pike, Spicer, and their holdings were more in the form of legacies rather than current policy. Not surprisingly, only the largest of all the brewers, Pike, Spicer, had ventured further afield, to Rowland's Castle, Purbrook Heath and Horndean, and they also leased a public house on the Isle of Wight for a short time.[252] The overall impression of Portsmouth's brewing industry in 1847 was of a thriving local market able to support the numerous brewery concerns, both great and small.

Conclusion

Undoubtedly the presence of the Royal Dockyard in Portsmouth has been the driving force behind the development of the local brewing industry, and the town has always prospered from defence and war because of that presence. The King's brewhouses and subsequently the naval contracts developed a disproportionately large brewing industry in the town which was augmented by, and later sustained by the regular influx of seamen and soldiers, and the ever-growing population needed to service the Dockyard and garrison. The recurrence of the brewers' names in the list of Mayors, Aldermen and even Members of Parliament attest to their wealth and influence, points which are reinforced by the existence of brewing dynasties founded in the seventeenth and subsequent centuries. Legislation had played its part in shaping the industry, first by concentrating production into large units and then drastically reversing the situation by encouraging brewing-victuallers; a return to pre-Excise days. Technical advances, particularly in the control of temperature, had also played their part in giving the larger brewers an edge over their smaller counterparts, although by Victorian times, knowledge of brewing was available to anyone who could read. Surprisingly, given the length of time that brewing had been practised, the role of yeast in fermentation was still shrouded in mystery.

The brewing industry in Portsmouth in 1847 was in good health. Although the popularity of beer was declining, there was sufficient demand, even in peacetime, to support 60 breweries ranging in size from the tiny beerhouse-brewer to the large property-owning firm. The large firms appeared to be content to rest on their past reputations, apparently secure with their tied-houses. If the ghost of William Pike inhabited the counting-house in Penny Street, he may have been impressed by the profit figures,

but not the laissez-faire attitude of his successors. His spirit lived on in the minds of some of the small-scale newcomers, who were not content with their lot, and who had ambition to expand their business by buying into licensed property: a repeat performance of the latter half of the eighteenth century made possible by the freeing of the beer trade. Brewing was one of the few avenues to great wealth open to the enterprising man in a town dominated by the increasingly self-sufficient Royal Dockyard. The successes of Henry Holt, the Ridges and William Pike are ample testimony to the ability of Portsmouth to produce enterprising men when the opportunity arose.

APPENDIX

Breweries in Portsmouth 1784 to 1847

Dates	Address	★	Name of attached BH/PH*	Main occupiers	Brewery name
1695–1843	Penny St	O	Portsmouth Arms PH	Mudge/Deacon	
1719–1910	Penny St	O	—	Pike/Carter	The Brewery
1757–1848	St Georges Sq	P	—	Temple/Spicer/ Carter	St Georges Brewery
1770–1902	Penny St	O	—	Norris/Garrett	Portsmouth Brewery
1785–1815	Kings Pl	P	?	Miall	
1787–1861	51 Commercial Rd	L	—	Pafford/Boddy/ Hollier	Spring Garden Brewery
1796–1870	6 Charlotte St	L	Eden Brewery Tap/ Princess Charlotte	Read/Brown	Eden Brewery
1798–1870	56 Kingston Rd	K	Brewery Tap/ Kingston Tavern	Matthews/Fielding/ Gough	Buckland Brewery
1800–1867	23 Duncan St	L	Duncan Street Cellars	Millegan & Co./Barton	
1801–1809	Union Rd	L	—	Turner & Co.	Union Brewery
1802–1808	St Marys St	O	Golden Bell PH	Lipscomb	
1805–1914	219 Kingston Rd	K	—	Fidlin/Murrell	Kingston Brewery
1805–1809	Mile End	L	?	Pearce	Mile End Brewery
1807–1865	6 East St	O	—	Knott	Fountain Brewery
1809–1859	25 Hawke St	P	—	Sause/Clements	Hawk(e) Brewery
1809–1865	12 Kent St	P	—	Stroud	
1809–1814	Kingston	K	Land of Promise PH	Smith-Hawford	
1809–1821	Stubbington Fm	K	?	Pink	
1814–1818	Hambrook St	S	—	Tollervey/ Union Brewery	Union Brewery
1815–1822	4 Ordnance Rw	P	Wheatsheaf PH	Wickenden	
1817–1933	Hambrook St	S	King William IV/ Southsea Brewery Tap	Pinkard/Long	Southsea Brewery
1818–1851	Chandos St	L	Brewery Tap	Union Brewery	Union Brewery
1821–1844	Kings Pl	P	?	Brine/Holt/Brine	
1823–1844	Kings Pl	P	Prince of Wales PH	Pink/Collins	Prince Of Wales Brewery
1823–1879	70 Arundel St	L	Cobden Arms PH	Wickenden/Purchase	Cobden Brewery
1825–1830	Cross St	P	?	Boddy	
1826–1884	62 Charlotte St	L	Golden Bell	Burn	Golden Bell Brewery
1826–1853	73 Up Church Pth	L	North Country House	Lowe/Guyatt	
1826–1884	Waterloo Pl	L	Queen's Head/ Cox's Hotel PH	Cox & Fry/Cox	Waterloo/Eagle Brewery

1826–1833	Lt Southsea St	S	?	Abraham/Pye	
1827–1886	259 Commercial Rd	L	Newtown Tavern	Anderson	Newtown Brewery
1827–1828	Lake Rd	L	—	Kingswell	
1828–1853	Commercial Rd	L	—	Gravenor/Gutheridge	
1828–1831	Charlotte St	L	—	Hewett	
1829–1874	232 Commercial Rd	L	Lord John Russell/ Duke of York	Gardiner	
1829–1855	70 Conway St	L	Conway Arms/ Sultan Tavern	Barton	Conway Brewery
1829–1871	40 Hertford St	L	Constitution	Stone/Bramsden	
1829–1861	27 Lake Rd	L	Plough and Barleycorn	Marsh/Marshall	
1829–1830	Charlotte St	L	—	Callender/Seaton	
1829–1831	Gold St	S	?	Beach	
1829–1830	Landport St	S	—	Jenkins	
1829–1831	Park Pl	S	—	Cull	
1829–1831	Green Rd	S	?	Cull	
1830–1841	10 Clock St	P	—	Jenkins	
1830–1862	74 St Georges Sq	P	Black Prince	Paul	St Georges Brewery
1830–1859	54 Thomas St	L	Old Countryman/ Charles Dickens	Sharp/Ford/Pink	St Thomas/ Victory Brewery
1830–1872	77 Russell St	L	Duke of Richmond	Cull/Bailey	
1830–1868	1 Gold St	S	Stag/Royal Stag	Eastman/Martin	Stag Brewery
1830–1831	11 Cross St	P	—	Hobbs	
1830–1834	Greetham St	L	?	Scott	
1831–1959	75 St Georges Sq	P	Royal Standard/ Prince Olaf	Griffiths/Rayner	
1831–1847	84 Commercial Rd	L	—	Hobbs/Bright	
1831–1831	Gold St	S	?	Hills	
1832–1895	33 Warblington St	O	Beehive Tap	Weeks	Beehive Brewery
1832–1834	Lt Charlotte St	L	—	Hunt	
1834–1879	236 Kingston Rd	K	Cricketers	Holland	
1835–1866	10 Dorset St	L	Olive Branch	Kenderdine	
1836–1842	58 Crasswell St	L	Kings Arms	Crusoe	
1836–1847	38 Thomas St	L	un-named BH	Bull	
1836–1857	16 Greetham St	L	Railway Carriers Arms	Davey/Bailey	
1836–1848	Lt Southsea St	S	?	Wells	
1837–1844	Sandwich St	P	?	Methven	
1838–1854	6 Union St	P	Jack of Both Sides	Paul jnr./Hymus	
1838–1839	Up Church Pth	L	—	Perfett/Hill	
1840–1850	Warblington St	O	?	Richardson	
1840–1869	37 Union St	P	Kent Arms	Horton	Kent Arms Brewery
1840–1852	28 Russell St	L	Three Stags	Urry	
1840–1849	40 Sackville St	S	?	Cheeseman	
1841–1875	20 Pr Georges St	P	Fairy Brewery	Lampard	Fairy Brewery
1841–1884	18 Thomas St	L	Red Lion	Cleverley	Red Lion Brewery
1841–1871	104 St Pauls Rd	S	Star of Brunswick/ Borough Arms	Luke	Brunswick Brewery
1842–1864	2 Up Arundel St	L	Gladstone Tavern	Bright/Orley	
1843–1857	1 Conway St	L	Oddfellows Arms	Bufton	
1844–1892	55 Church St	L	Blacksmith's Arms/ Charles Dickens	Langford	
1845–1983	Catherine Row	P	—	Methven	Catherine Brewery

1845–1864	23 North St	P	Beehive	Smart	Mersey Brewery?
1845–1855	386 Commercial Rd	L	White Lion	Kirby	
1845–1878	78 Crasswell St	L	Egremont Arms	Purchase/Hunt	Egremont Brewery
1845–1858	135 Lake Rd	L	Circus Arms/ Princes Arms	House	
1845–1855	91 St Pauls Rd	S	Battle and Breeze	Knight	
1845–1853	49 St Vincent St	S	Sir Robert Peel	Davey	
1846–1858	2 Chapel Row	P	un-named BH	Gibbs	
1846–1857	26 Frederick St	P	un-named BH	Bone	
1846–1893	85 Up Church Pth	L	Shakespeare's Head	Bright	Crystal Brewery
1846–1865	46 Gt Southsea St	S	un-named BH	Hearn	
1846–1852	42 Grosvenor St	S	Lord Raglan	Gordon	
1847–1851	50 North St	P	Star	Lampard	
1847–1867	373 Commercial Rd	L	?	Taylor	
1847–1914	119 Kingston Rd	K	Brewery Tap/ Shaftesbury	Allen	Buckland Brewery

KEY
⋆ District: O = Old Portsmouth, P = Portsea (Portsmouth Common), L = Landport (Halfway Houses), K = Kingston, S = Southsea. BH/PH = Beerhouse or Public House

Sources: Portsmouth and Portsea Poor Rate books and various trade directories 1784 to 1847

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172 *H.T.* (28 Nov. 1808), p. 1.
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175 *H.T.* (11 Dec. 1815), p. 4.
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193 *H.T.* (15 Mar. 1830), p. 4.
194 Mathias, *op. cit.*, p. 375. Per capita consumption of beer between 1722 and 1833 fell from one barrel per annum to half a barrel, while tea consumption rose from 1oz to 2.3 lb in the same period.
195 Histories of Brickwoods usually describe this brewery as Long's Lord John Russell Brewery. This is incorrect: the brewery was owned by the executors of James Gardiner and the last brewer was the widow of James Rogers. The confusion seems to have been caused by the occupant of the public house, at the time of the sale to John and Arthur Brickwood, being named Harriett Long.

196 5&6 Edw. VI c. 25.
197 Clark, *op. cit.*, p. 108.
198 R. Wilkins, *The Borough*, (1748) in Surry and Thomas, *op. cit.*, Appendix 1, p. 71.
199 *P.T.* (24 Dec. 1910), p. 6.
200 Barnard, *op. cit.*, p. 164.
201 eg. 2 Geo. II c. 40, 1751 imposed a minimum rateable value on alehouses of £10.
202 P.C.R.O. CF8/20 rent roll papers (6 May 1768).
203 H.R.O. 94M72/F623.
204 P.C.R.O. DD1/5–6.
205 P.C.R.O. D1/7855.
206 Mathias, *op. cit.*, p. xxii.
207 P.C.R.O. CF17/3 and CF10/1 1821 rent roll.
208 WW Brickwood deeds, 'P7'.
209 S. & B. Webb, *The History of Liquor Licensing in England* (1903; Frank Cass reprint 1963), p. 98.
210 Clark, *op. cit.*, p. 266.
211 Brickwood deeds.
212 *H.T.* (15 Mar. 1830), p. 4.
213 Webb, *op. cit.*, p. 99.
214 1 Will. IV, c. 51.
215 Scarisbrick, *op. cit.*, p. 20.
216 *Ibid.*, p. 21.
217 For a discussion of changes in strength of beers see Campbell, *op. cit.*, pp. 63–66.
218 1 Will. IV, c. 64.
219 Webb, *op. cit.*, p. 124.
220 J. Bateman, *A Collection of the Statutes of Excise Laws* (1843), footnote p. 381.
221 *H.T.* (4 Oct. 1830), p. 4.
222 *Ibid.*
223 *H.T.* (27 Dec. 1830), p. 4.
224 Brewed at the rate of six and a half barrels from a quarter of malt since 1782: Scarisbrick, *op. cit.*, p. 18.
225 *Report of the Royal Commission on Licensing (England & Wales), 1929–31* (HMSO, 1932), p. 273.
226 Scarisbrick, *op. cit.*, p. 117.
227 G. B. Wilson, *Alcohol and the Nation,* (Nicholas and Watson, London, 1940), p. 332.
228 R. C. Riley, *The Growth of Southsea as a Naval Satellite and Victorian Resort*, The Portsmouth Papers, No. 16 (1972).
229 R. C. Riley and P. Eley, *Public Houses and Beerhouses in Nineteenth Century Portsmouth*, The Portsmouth Papers, No. 38 (1983), p. 13.
230 *H.T.* (22 Nov. 1845), p. 1 and (16 Aug. 1845), p. 1.
231 WW Brickwood deeds, 'Portsmouth Brewery block'.
232 P.C.R.O. D7137–8.
233 This is the correct date, although 1840 is usually quoted, originating from a mistake in Barnard, *op. cit.*
234 H.R.O. 94M72/F623.
235 P.C.R.O. 331A.
236 *H.T.* (25 June 1910), p. 2.
237 East, *op. cit.*, p. 753, erroneously states that the gaol (of 1808) was built on the site.
238 *H.T.* (18 Sept. 1843), p. 1.
239 Everitt, 'Miscellaneous', vol. II p. 20. Bought by Pike in 1724.
240 *Abstract of Census Returns*, 1841.
241 R. C. Riley, 'Rate Returns and Industrial Geography: Nineteenth Century Brewing in Portsmouth', in *Portsmouth Geographical Essays*, vol. II (Portsmouth 1976), pp. 66–75, and R. C. Riley, *The Industries of Portsmouth in the Nineteenth Century*, The Portsmouth Papers, No. 25 (1976), 18–20.
242 *H.T.* (20 Aug. 1853), p. 1 Dorset Street; (11 Aug. 1849), p. 1 Lampard, North Street; (3 Sept. 1853), p. 1 Bailey, Russell Street.
243 *H.T.* (3 July 1843), p. 1 Deacon; (12 April 1851), p. 1 Union Brewery; (22 Dec. 1849), p. 1 Spring Garden Brewery.
244 *H.T.* (20 Mar. 1854), p. 2 Spicer.
245 WW Brickwood deeds, 'Catherine Brewery'.
246 *H.T.* (20 Mar. 1847), p. 1.
247 WW, Portsmouth and Brighton United Breweries Ltd. deeds, 'Kingston Tavern'.
248 *H.T.* (3 July 1843), p. 1.
249 P.C.R.O. CD8/31/8.
250 *H.T.* (25 Sept. 1843).
251 Riley and Eley, *op. cit.*
252 H.R.O. 94M72/F24. *Black Horse*, Ryde.

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